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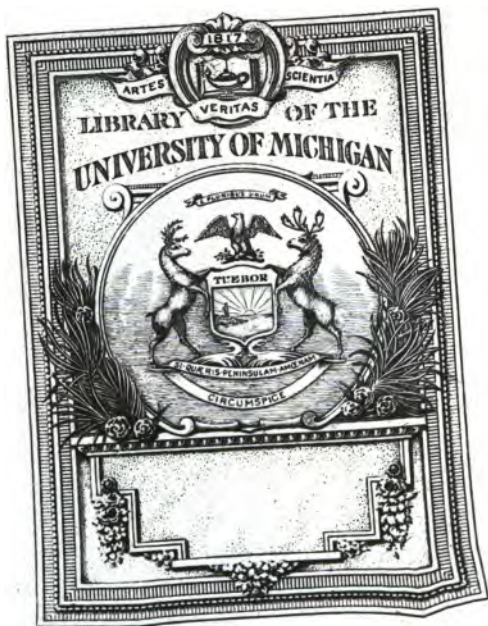
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Harrison Wood

4. 3

Volume 169

~~Young~~ ~~Buttman~~





*Alij diutius Imperium tenuerunt, nemo
fortiter reliquit. Tacit. Histor. Lib. 2. c. 4*

This Name

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Rebellions

IN
England, Scotland and Ireland:

WHEREIN,
The most Material Passages, Sieges, Battles,
Policies and Stratagems of WAR, are im-
partially Related on both Sides;

FROM
The YEAR 1640.

To the Beheading of the
Duke of Monmouth in 1685.

In Three Parts.

By Sir ROGER MANLEY, Kt.
late Governour of Land-Guard-Fort.

— *Queq; ipse Miserima vidi.* —

L O N D O N,
Printed for L. Meredith at the Angel in Amen-Corner, and
T. Newborough at the Golden Ball in St. Paul's Church-Yard.
MDCXCI.

DA
405
M28

[Handwritten flourish]

Harrison Wood
and Son
Jan^{ry} 12 1738

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Director
Norman
7-12-57
75404

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

IN regard the Reputation of Histories, is generally raised on the Worth of their Authors, I thought it convenient to acquaint the World, That the Compiler of This, was a Gentleman of known Integrity, bred in the Church of England; for whose Cause, joined with that of the Royal Family, he was a valiant and zealous Champion: having been Personally engaged in the most considerable Battles, which his Royal Master, King Charles I. fought against his Rebellious Subjects.

A 3.

You

The Publisher to the Reader.

You are not therefore here to expect the Reversion of other Mens Labors no borrow'd Fragments, or Scraps of Records ; no patch'd, or imperfect Collections ; but, an entire uniform History, with great Impartiality, and for the most Part, of his own certain Knowledge.

Yet, to free him from Suspicion of any Mistake in these Memoirs, it is sufficient to observe, That he collected them in those Troublesome Times whose Iniquity would not admit the Publication of them ; which he reserv'd, till there was a clear Stage for Truth to appear on. And, having surviv'd this Great Rebellion for many Years, he has added to the History of that, an Account of the Remarkable Transactions, with the Con

The Publisher to the Reader.

inspiracies, Insurrections and Tumults, that happ'ned in the Reign of King Charles II. And concludes, with the Invasion and Overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth in the West.

I shall say no more, but that this Gentleman dying soon after he had finished these Commentaries, the Publication of them was entrusted with me. Which I did very readily undertake, since I had the Honour to know the Author so well, that his very Name was a sufficient Recommendation of the Work. And, all honest Men that knew Sir Roger Manley, were very desirous of a History from his Hand, whose Pen was as loyal and Just as his Sword.

Reader, honour the Memory of this brave Man, and think not ill of the

A 4

Publisher

The Publisher to the Reader.
Publisher, who, like a faithful Executor, presents thee with this his last Legacy. And, if thou take my Pains in good part, 'tis all the Acknowledgment I expect from thee. Adieu.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

PART I.

BOOK I.

THE *Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain. The State of Affairs in England. The Scots Tumults, and their Causes. They Rebel, and Arm. The King Marches against them, but concludes a Peace. They break it, and enter England with an Army, The Little Parliament call'd, and dissolved. The Treaty at Rippon, referred to the Parliament which met in November 1640. The Preludes to their ensuing Rebellion. Strafford Impeach'd and Beheaded. The Fatal Act of Continuance. The Scots dismissed. The King follows them into Scotland. The Irish Rebellion breaks out. The King upon his Return, is pompously received by the Londoners. The King enters the House of Commons. The Bishops accused of High Treason. The King forced by Tumults, retreats Northward. Contests about the Militia. His Majesty is repulsed at Hull.*

P. I.

BOOK

The CONTENTS.

BOOK II.

The King attempts Hull in vain. Propositions sent to his Majesty to York. Most of the Lords, and many of the Commons repair to his Majesty. He erects his Standard at Nottingham, and raises an Army. Essex, the Rebels General at Worcester, at Keynton. The famous Battle of Edge-hill. Fight at Branford. The King fortifies Oxford. Some Actions in other Provinces. The Queen lands at Burlington. Goes to Oxford. The Battle of Lansdowne; Of Rownday Downe. The Siege and Relief of Gloucester. The great Battle of Newbury. The Parliament invite the Scots to their Succour. They enter England. The Siege of York. The fatal Battle of Marston Moor. The Fights at Brandon Heath and Copedry-bridge. Essex defeated in the West. The second Battle of Newbury. Alexander Carew, and the Two Hothams beheaded. Mac-Mahon and Macquier executed. The Archbishop of Canterbury martyr'd. The Treaty at Uxbridge. Essex discarded, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General in his Place.

38.

BOOK III.

The Continuation of the Irish Rebellion. The Lords of the Pale, side with the Rebels. Their Model of Government. The Cruelty of the English in Ireland. Ormond makes first a Cessation, then a Peace with the Irish. Delivers Dublin to the English. The King vindicated from any Correspondence with the Irish Rebels. Fairfax marches Westward; recalled, besieges Oxford. The King relieves Chester. Takes Leicester. The Fatal Battel of Nacsby described. The King's Cabinet taken, and published
Fairfax

The CONTENTS.

Fairfax relieves Taunton. The Fight at Langport. He takes Bridgwater, Sherburne and Bristol. The King's Travels and Labours. The Scots besiege Hereford. They quit it. The Fight at Rowton-Heath. Digby and Langdale defeated in the North. Barclay-Castle, the Devizes, and Tiverton taken. Cromwell takes Winchester and Basing-House by Assault. The Fight at Torrington. The Prince passes into France. The Lord Hopton disbands his Army. Disturbances at Newark. The King returns to Oxford. The Lord Ashley defeated.

84.

BOOK IV.

The King leaves Oxford, and goes to the Scots Army. Hereford is surprized, and Chester surrender'd. Oxford besieged, and taken. The other Royal Garrisons follow. Musley's Forces disbanded. Contests with the Scots. Their barbarous Usage of the King. They sell him. He is imprisoned in Holmbey-Priory. The History of the Scots Rebellion, and valorous Actions of Montrose. Independency triumphant. The Army mutinies, and seize upon the King at Holmbey. They court him, but deal treacherously with him. He flies to the Isle of Wight.

122.

BOOK

The CONTENTS.

BOOK V.

The King in the Isle of Wight. His Message for Peace. The Four Dethroning Bills. The Votes of Non-address. Cap. Burleigh attempts the King's Delivery; Rolfe his Life. The King appeals to the People. They rise in several Parts of the Kingdom. Are suppressed. Pembroke taken. The Scots defeated, and Hamilton a Prisoner. Colchester surrendered. The Treaty in the Isle of Wight broken by the Army. They seize upon the King. Garble the Parliament. The perjur'd Remains of the Commons, assume the Supream Power. Constitute a pretended Court of High Justice. Arraign, Condemn and Murther their King. His End and Elogy. 169.

PART II.

BOOK I.

The Regicides prohibit the proclaiming of the Prince of Wales. They abolish the House of Lords, and the Government by Kings. Choose a Council of State. Displace and Fine the Lord Mayor for refusing to publish the Act for abolishing of Monarchy. Declare they will maintain the Fundamental Laws. Erect a High Court of Justice, Hamilton, Holland and Capell, condemned by it and murdered. Several Acts of State. The Scots proclaim Charles II. Some Actions of the Levellers. The King leaves Holland, and goes by Brussels into France. The Duke of Gloucester banished. Continuance of the History of Ireland. The King at Jersey. Prince Rupert sails from Kinsale to Portugal. Loseth his Brother Prince Maurice, by a Hurricane.

The CONTENTS.

Hurricane. *The King at Breda; Treats and Concludes with the Scots. Montrose's unfortunate End. Fairfax routed, and Cromwell General. His Actions in Scotland. The Scots barbarous Usage of the King. They are defeated at Dunbar. The King crowned at Schone. He enters England. The Battle of Worcester. The King's miraculous Escape.* 109, 110.

BOOK II.

Cromwell enters London Triumphantly. Continuation of the Irish Affairs. Ormond leaves Ireland, and Clanrickard, his Deputy there. Ireton dyes of the Plague. Monk takes Sterling, Dundee; and Subjugates Scotland. The Isles of Scilly, Barbadoes, Garnsey, Jersey, and that of Man, surrendered to the Regicides. Their Greatness. They are courted by the Neighbouring Kings and States. They send a solemn Embassy into Holland. Cromwell Cabals. Turns out the Mock-Parliament. Chooses another. Is chosen Protector. The Wars with the United Provinces. The various Sea-Fights betwixt the Two States. Cromwell makes a Peace with them, and a League with France. The Expedition of San Domingo and Jamaica. Blake's success at Tunis and Santa Cruz. Dunkirk taken. The Death of Oliver Cromwell. His Character. 249.

BOOK

The CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

Richard succeeds his Father in the Protectorate. He is deposed by the Army. The Rump restored. Lambert defeats Sir George Booth. Montague returns with the Fleet out of Denmark. Lambert turns out the Rump. Monk dissents, and declares for the Rump. Lambert marches against him. Being deluded by Treaties, he is deserted by his Army. The Committee of Safety routed, and the Rump yet again restored. Monk marches to London. Reads the Secluded Members. The Parliament dissolv'd by its own Act. An Abstract of the King's Actions and Motions abroad. He is proclaimed by the Parliament. Returns into England. His glorious Reception. The End of our Troubles.

278.

PART III.

BOOK I.

The REBELLION breaks into new Flames. Some Millenaries secur'd. Venner's Insurrection, and End. The Presbyterians stickle for new Elections. Several Seditious Tumults detected and punished. The Plague consumes the People. The Conflagration of the City. Tumults in Scotland. Oate's Plot. The Parliament insist upon removing the Duke from the King's Presence and Councils. It is dissolved. Another Parliament call'd. The Duke retires from Court. A new Council chosen. The Parliament refuse the King Money, and insist upon the Bill of Exclusion. It is also dissolved, another being Summon'd. A new Rebellion in Scotland. The Arch-bishop of St. Andrew's inhumanly butchered.

The

The CONTENTS.

The Rebels are defeated at Bothwel-Bridge. The King sick, He recovers. The Duke returns to Court. Monmouth Cabals, and is outed of his Employments. The Lord Stafford beheaded. The Parliament dissolv'd, and succeeded by another at Oxford, which is likewise dismiss'd. College is hang'd, and Shaftsbury try'd. The strange Increase of the Fanaticks. Their Insolence and Power in the City. They form a Conspiracy. The Council of Six. The Plot to Murder the King and Duke. The Providential Fire at New-Market. Keeling discovers the Conspiracy. Ruffel and Sidney are executed. Monmouth absconds, but upon his Submission is pardoned. He again transgresses, and is banished. The King dyes of an Apoplexy. The Duke succeeds.

312.

BOOK II.

The Rebellion breaks out in Scotland under Argile, in England under Monmouth. Both are vanquished, taken and executed. The Final Ruin and End of the Rebellion.

336.

COM-

COMMENTARIES ON THE REBELLION

OF
England, Scotland and Ireland,

PART I.

BOOK I.

The Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain. The State of Affairs in England. The Scots Tumults, and their Causes. They Rebel, and Arm. The King Marches against them, but concludes a Peace. They break it, and enter England with an Army. The Little Parliament call'd, and dissolved. The Treaty at Rippon, referred to the Parliament which met in November 1643. The Preludes to their ensuing Rebellion. Strafford Impeach'd and Beheaded, The Fatal Act of Continuance. The Scots dismissed. The King follows them into Scotland. The Irish Rebellion breaks out. The King upon his Return is pompously received by the Londoners. The King enters the House of Commons. The Bishops
B *accused*

The Rebellion of ENGLAND. Part I.
accused of High Treason. The King forced by Tumults, retreats Northward. Contests about the Militia. His Majesty is repulsed at Hull.

THE Kingdoms of *Great Britain* being United under the Dominion of one Prince, and the Animosities and Emulations, which usually disorder Neighbour-Nations, thereby removed; gave a sudden Rise to a very great and formidable Power, which could not be destroyed but by it self. The Moderator of this vast Empire, was **JAMES VI.** King of *Scotland*, and First Monarch of *Great Britain*, undoubted Heir to both, as well by Right of Succession, from *Margaret* the only Daughter of *Edgar Atheling*, the last of the *Saxon* Princes, as by that of Force, derived to him from the *Norman* Conqueror. This Wise and Learned Prince, being gathered to his Fathers, the loss which his Dominions suffered by it, however great, was abundantly repaired by the Succession of his Son **CHARLES**; who being truly Heir to his Father's Greatness and Vertues, as well as Scepters, did excel all his Predecessors, in the more severe Disquisition of what was *Fit* and *Just*; so that our Tragedies will scarce find Credit with Posterity, whilst the Ages to come, mistrusting the Reports of such enormous Villainies, will look upon our unheard-of Vicissitudes, but as the Fancies of Poetry, and the Decoration of Theatres. For, how is it possible to believe, that the *Best* of Princes should meet with the *Worst* of Subjects, on whom he had conferred more Graces, than the whole Series of his Ancestors? and that he, who valued his Kingdoms and Life, at a lower Rate than the Happiness of his People, should by a Judicial Parricide, be sacrificed to the ambitious Violence of a prevailing Faction in their Representative: and that,

Charles I.
*succeeds to
 the Crown.*

that, under the pretence of Usurpation and Tyranny? But these things happened, an everlasting Reproach to the Nation, and not to be atoned for by any Resentment, or Hecatombs of Victims.

King *James* left a flourishing Kingdom behind him, but an empty Treasury, and his Successor engaged in a War with *Spain*; and, what was worse, the *Parliament* that oblig'd the Father to Arm, abandoned the Son, when they had exposed him. Nor were the succeeding *Parliaments* more Obsequious, or forward in supplying his Necessities, how great soever; either in recovering the *Palatinate*, or rescuing the *French Protestants*, though undertaken in Defence of the Reformed Religion. 'Tis true, his Third *Parliament* voted him Five *Subsidies*; but we must own also, that the *Petition of Right*, being a Condescension even to Supererogation, deserv'd their best Acknowledgements; for, rais'd with that Grant, they, that very Session, questioned the Tribute of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, though perpetually enjoyed by his Predecessors, Kings of *England*; affirming, That he had resigned what Right he could pretend to it, by that very Concession; which they urg'd with so much Violence, that forgetting the Rules of Modesty, the King was forced to Dissolve them, and to punish some of the most Factious of that Seditious Convention.

But the Causes of these Heats must be further sought. In the Reign of Queen *Mary*, a great Number of People withdrew themselves out of *England*, whereof many, infected with the Discipline of *Geneva*, upon Queen *Elizabeth's* Assumption to the Crown, returning, brought that uneasy Preciseness with them, which suddenly grew to that height, by the Carelessness, or Pusillanimity of the Magistrates, under King *James*; that it did

The Petition of Right

Some pretended Causes of Sedition.

not only insinuate it self, under the veil of Piety, amongst the People, but even into the Court, and *Parliaments*; where joining it self to those of Anti-Monarchic Principles, it endeavoured to diminish the Prerogative, and subject the King to those Necessities which might force him to unusual Ways of supplying them: Which also happened; for, being pressed by the indispensable Exigence of his Affairs, and perceiving no hopes of Subsidies from Parliaments, he began to have an Aversion for them so Constituted, and search for Refuge in his *Prerogative*. And yet he had so much Reverence for the Laws, that he would act nothing contrary to them, as appears in *Ship-Money*; which Tax however it were imposed to vindicate the Honour of the Sea against Pyrates, and our Potent Neighbours, he would not exact it, till it was adjudged to him by all the Judges of *Westminster*, and that under their Hands. But the Common People despising the Moderation of their Prince, and instigated by those who desired a Change, crying out, That their Laws and Liberties were endangered, mutinied; attributing all the Errors and Misfortunes in the Government (for the Undertakings Abroad had not been very successful) to his Counsellors, that they might transversely smite him, and blast his Reputation. To this the exuberant Power of the Clergy, that pretended Exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Laicks, did not please. The unusual Introduction of Ceremonies, as they cried out, and the placing of the Communion-Table at the East-End of the Church, with the more severe Imposition of Rites, however indifferent (except in the Command) did trouble them, and were the occasion of very great Tumults in many Parishes. But nothing did equally move their Choler, and Pity, as the Punishment of some Seditious Scribes against Ceremonies, and the Bishops their
 Authors.

Book I. The Rebellion of ENGLAND.

Authors, by Incarceration, and cutting off their Ears; who, however Guilty, and deserving what the Rigour of Justice could inflict, were yet thought to be hardly dealt with, considering the serene Tranquillity of those Halcion Days. And truly, Peace, and its Concomitant, Plenty, flourish'd amongst us, to the Envy of our Neighbours, continuing to the Fourth Lustre of the King's Reign; which might have been perpetual, being inexpugnable from Abroad, if it had not been destroyed, by the more than Civil Rage of our Mischievous Dissenters. Nothing seem'd wanting to our Felicity, before it was disturbed by these nefarious Tumults; and, our People, if they could have seen their own Happiness, were, considering the inexhaustible affluence of all Things, the Liberty of Commerce, and the free Enjoyment of what they had acquired, the happiest of any Subjects, under any known Government in the World. But our Luxury encreasing with our Abundance, we grew wanton, and fell into such a Surfeit, that nothing but a violent Bleeding could effect a Cure. The true Cause of these Evils, had its Rise from the noxious Indulgence of our Physicians, who neglecting to stifle the Factious Humours of the Puritans in their Infancy, gave such force and boldness to this Contagion, that it unhappily Infected the whole Body Politick, to the Ruine of *Hierarchy, the best of Spiritual, and Monarchy, the best of Temporal Governments.*

'Tis scarce conceivable, that there were found any in so happy a State, that should seem to desire a Change. And yet such there were; amongst which, the chief Ring-leaders were the *Presbyterians*, who had their Missionaries and Lecturers in all the Quarters of the Kingdom; and those swarms of *Sectaries*, their Brood, who contended for an equal Liberty in Civil, as well as Sacred Things.

The Flourishing Condition of the Nation.

Who they were who desired a Change.

The Rebellion of ENGLAND. Part I.

The Catholicks wished for the Dominion of *Rome* in Spirituall. But the Gentry, and Lesser Nobility, which compos'd the House of Commons, out of Contemplation of their own Greatness whilst they sat there, preferred Democracy before all other. In the mean time, this disguised Impiety grew up, under the plausible pretence of Sanctity, seducing the Vulgar with a Shew of Religion, into a Reverence of it. It is not imaginable how far this Sacred *Novelty* prevailed, by the seditious Fury of its Preachers, and their uncontroul'd railing against the received Rites of the Church, and the lawful Power of the King. It had bewitch'd the Town, the Country, and Private Families into an Opinion of it; nor were the great Representatives of the Kingdom, exempted from its Contagion, which the King had abundantly Experimented in all the Parliaments he had summoned: For in them the Novellists, and Democratics, pretending the Liberty and Defence of Religion, against the Designs of the Court, and Popery, oppress'd the Prerogative to advance their own; endeavouring to raise the Authority of the People, whose Vicegerents they were, upon the Ruines of the King. To this, they branded with the Odious Title of Papists, all that oppos'd them, by which means they deceived the People, who are still the more addicted to their Superiors, by how much they observe them the more Zealous for the Advancement of Religion. And truly, the depravedness of the Age was so great, that whatever was said in behalf of the King and his Ministers against Popery, had no Credit; but on the contrary, whatever was affirmed, to perswade the People, that the Court did Favour Superstition, was greedily swallowed down without any regard to Reasons of State, which sometimes oblig'd to a Compliance with the Desires of Foreign Princes and Embassadors.

Embassadors. But the true Source of our Miseries came from *Scotland*; this Embryo of *Rebellion*, gathering Strength from Foreigners, upon this Occasion.

The Nobility in the Infancy of King *JAMES*, had, by the Connivance of *Murrey* the Governour, *The Scots Tumults.* usurped the Lands and Possessions belonging to the Cathedrals and Monasteries of that Kingdom; which they also enjoyed, untill King *Charles*, pressed with foreign Wars, and but ill supplied from *Scotland*, resolved, by the Advice of his Council there, to reunite the said Possessions to the Crown again; which he did by an Act of Revocation, with a Commission of Surrend'ries of Superiorities and Tithes. But those Nobles resolved to turn all upside down, rather than part with their Usurpations, and be deprived of the Vassalage of the Ministers, and Land-owners. And so conspiring against the King himself, designed to oppose his Authority, both Sacred and Civil, in the next *Parliament* he should call. Moreover, there were some other Malecontents, who by reason of their Disaffection, had been denied such Titles and Honours, as they pretended to at his Majesties Coronation, who all joyned together; and because there are no Pretences more specious than those of Religion, nor more charming Baites to ensnare the Vulgar, it was thought most proper to be insisted on. Nor was it long before the Depravedness of the times, furnished them with Opportunities to manifest their Resentments.

The pious King was pleased to send the *Liturgy* and Book of Common-Prayers, signed with the Blood of the first Reformers of our Church, to the *Kirk of Scotland*; for he desired, to unite in the same Opinion in Spirituals, those People who were subject to the same Empire in Temporals. King *JAMES* had formerly proposed the same thing to his Countrymen at *Aberdeen*, who willingly assent-

The King sends the Liturgy into Scotland,

ed to it; and having framed it there, and adapted it to the Church of *Scotland*, it was sent into *England*, where it lay; till by the Advice of the *Privy Council* at *Edenburgh*, and perswasion of some others nearer him, though very unseasonably, his Majesty returned it to them, with Command to have it used in all the *Churches* and *Chapels* of *Scotland*. This Advice, however laudable, was ill timed; for the growing Factions took thence an Occasion to rebel; and 'tis scarce credible, with what contumacious Fury the *Presbyterians* (who would sooner sin against Religion its self than its Rites) did oppose it; crying out, that the King introduced Superstition, and prophane Forms of Worship into the Church. Rumours were also spread abroad by the dissatisfied Nobles before-mentioned, who abhorred nothing equal with the Restitution of what they had usurped; as also by others of the Cabal, who longed for a Change, of reducing *Scotland* into a Province: So that the People thinking their Civil as well as Sacred Liberty were in danger, became obnoxious to the Artifices of every Faction. And this occasioned the Sedition of *Edenburgh*, and the zealous Madness of the Rabble against the *Liturgy*.

The Sedition of *Edenburgh*.
Jul. 23.
1637.

The *Dean* that officiated, as also the *Bishop* who should have preached, had much to do to escape with their Lives; their wild Auditors throwing their Books, Stools, and whatever else their Fury could seize on, at their Heads. Nor did they stick here; for, the prime Conspirators who had thus infatuated the lowest of the People, and incensed them against the *Liturgy*, engaged them also, the better sort now consorting with them, in a *Covenant*, under pretext of vindicating their Religion, to abolish it; and gaping after the Church-Revenues, to extirpate the *Hierarchy* of *Bishops*. Moreover, they took up Arms, being instigated thereto

Book I. The Rebellion of ENGLAND.

thereto by the *Puritans* of *England*, whom they had cajoled with a Declaration, as they call'd it, to vindicate their Actions, and Intentions; and renouncing their Duty and Allegiance, they seized upon the King's Castles and Revenues, for their Use, and Support in the War. Having raised an Army, but distrusting their own Strength, they courted Assistance from the *French*; and writing an humble Letter to *Lewis XIII.* of that Name, implored the Assistance of a foreign Prince, against their own, whom they had so cruelly offended. And thus a great Mystery was discovered, *teaching the World how to extirpate the Religion of Rome, by consulting with a Roman Cardinal, and by joining Forces with a Catholick Monarch.*

The Scots implore Assistance from the French King. Car. Richieu.

The King had sent *Duke Hamilton* to allay these Troubles; but he acted so remissly, that he seemed rather to encourage than suppress their fury; which is no wonder, if what is reported of him be true, *that their first Motions had been secretly directed by his Counsels.* The King therefore incited by the Insolence of his Subjects, resolved, seeing his clemency was neglected, to chastise them by force, and raising a great Army marches towards *Scotland*. But there was nothing performed in this Expedition worthy such extraordinary Preparations. For, many both of the Nobility and Gentry, would hardly be perswaded to invade *Scotland*, which likewise cooled the Soldiers. Nor is it to be wondered at, since their chief Officers, as *Essex*, who was Lieutenant-General, and *Holland* General of the Horse, with others, proved afterwards to be the prime Heads of the *Rebellion in England*. They had forgot the Animosities of old, betwixt these Neighbour-Nations, fearing as had been suggested to them, *That Scotland being conquered, the Forces that served to subdue it, might in process of Time be made use of to enslave England.* But the remoteness of this

Mar. 27.

1639.

The King marches towards Scotland.

Makes
Peace.

this Project, renders it very Chimerical. However, the King warned by the Perfidy of his own Men, was necessitated to consent to a Peace with the Rebels, upon no equal Terms. Which he the rather did, as being sensible, *That nothing can happen more pernicious to a Prince, than Civil Discord.*

The Scots
break it,
and invade
England.

But the Scots quickly violated the Peace they had procured; for they did not disband according to the Articles of the Treaty, but kept all their Officers in pay. Neither did they demolish the Fortifications of *Leith*, as they should have done; but adding *Infidelity* to their *Rebellion*, did also publish a Libel, entituled, *Conditions of his Majesty's Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland*, which for its Falseness by inserting Articles never assented to, was burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman. High with their late Success, and looking upon the King's Indulgence, as an Argument of his Easiness, not his Goodness; being also instigated to it by the *English Puritans*, they arm a Second Time, and sleighting the Sanctions of the Treaty, rush into *England*, and unexpectedly possess the Towns of *New-Castle* and *Durham*. They had sent their Declaration before them, intimating, *That what they undertook, was for the Glory of God, and that their Arms were onely Defensive, and not intended against England, but against the Canterbury-Faction, and to endeavour to unite both Nations in one, as to Religion.*

The King seeing his Clemency abused, and his Authority prostituted by the Rebels in *Scotland*, and to repress the Insolency of his Subjects, who had by Leagues, Oaths and the Seisure of his Castles and Forts, and the like, conspired against him; and also that the Decrees of *Parliament* might not be rescinded by those of the Assembly, nor the Three States be mutilated by the abolishing of *Episcopacy*; seriously resolved to vindicate his offended Majesty,

Majesty, and reduce his so often Rebelling Subjects to their Duty again. He therefore summon'd a *Parliament* to meet at *London*, which he had deferred for some Years past, to give those boisterous Spirits leasure to cool. And now he acquaints them, with the *Invasion of the Scots and their Indignities towards him*, and very earnestly demands *Moneys* of them to carry on the War; assuring them, that if they would liberally comply with his *Necessities*, he would not only consent to remedy all their just *Grievances*, but remit his Right to Ship-money for ever, though adjudged to him by all the *Justices of the Kingdom*. Nor did he thus obtain his desires, the *Parliament* opposing them; not only declaring that *Tribute* to be illegal, but were also, if they had not been prevented by their *Dissolution*, upon the point of voting against the War they so much abominated. There were many good Men, who were much troubled at this unexpected Dismission of the *Parliament*, fancying that the Heats and Differences betwixt the King and his People, might have been dispelled by the Continuance of the Assembly, which seemed now on the other side highly exaggerated. The enraged Commonalty, exclaimed mightily against the Authors of this Counsel. Some attributed it to *Marquis Hamilton*, the ambitious Son of a Mother wholly devoted to the Covenanters. Others to the Earl of *Strafford*. But the greatest Crowd, would have it to be the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and to be revenged on him, about five Hundred of the Apprentices and Rabble, furiously assault his Palace at *Lambeth*, though without Success. But the true Authors, were the subtle Contrivers of the following *Rebellion*. For, *Sir Henry Vane*, one of the principal of them, then his Majesty's Principal Secretary, being ordered by his Master to move for a Supply of Twelve Subsidies, with Power to descend to Eight; he, when the House by an Offer of Five,

nay

The Little
Parliament

dissolved.

may Six were mentioned, to advance towards Compliance, peremptorily told them, that less than Twelve would not do; whereby he not only irritated the Seditious, but the more modest part of the Assembly, which seemed to be his Design by the Effect.

*The King's
Necessities.*

*His Friends
contribute
to his Sup-
ply.*

The factions were not displeased with the King's Necessities, which they themselves did from time to time contribute to, since there were no Subsidies to be obtained, but upon Conditions ruinous to Monarchy it self; or by exposing his best Friends and Ministers, to their Rage and Slaughter. And thus they constrained the King, though unwilling, to unusual ways of supplying his wants, that they might thereby expose him to the Contempt and Odium of an irritated People. But the King raised Moneys by other means; his Council, the faithful Nobility and Gentry, the Judges, but more eminently the Clergy, who contributed a fifth of their Revenues (whence it was called the *Bishops War*) largely supplying him. The Earl of *Strafford* subscribed 20000 pounds, which the Duke of *Lenox* also did, as likewise others proportionably; except *Hamilton*, who pretended Poverty, though the Author of his Memorials, against the current of the *English* Writers, delivers that he also subscribed 20000 pounds.

Being thus furnished, the King raises another Army, and marches against the *Scots*, but slowly, not supposing them so forward, who had already passed the River *Tweed*, near *Berwick*. The Earl of *Northumberland* was General, and *Strafford* Lieutenant-General of the King's Army; but they being both absent, the Lord *Conway*, General of the Horse, commanded, lying with 3000 Foot and 1200 Horse to keep the Passage of the *Tine* at *Newburne*. *Lesley* the Rebels General, desired permission to pass with his Army, with a Petition to the King, but being denied

denied, he attempted the Passage with Three Hundred Horse, which were repulsed. Hereupon he plies his great Guns with such Success, that the *English*, being for the most part Raw and Unexperienced, throwing down their Arms, ran away. Commissary-General *Wilmot* made stout Resistance with the Horse, till overpowered by Numbers, he was forced likewise to retreat. The *Scots* possessed themselves of *New-Castle* the same Day, being abandoned by Sir *Jacob Ashby*, who sunk his Great Ordnance in the River for haste, whilst the whole Army retreated in much disorder towards *Tork*. Two Days after, they took *Darham* with the same Facility; and putting the Northern Counties under Contribution, forced them to supply their Needy Troops, with Provisions and Moneys in abundance.

Lesley forces his Passage at Newburne.

The King streightned with these Pressures, summoned the Peers to meet him at *Tork*; by whose Counsel, or rather Faction, a Treaty was commenced, and a Cessation of Arms concluded upon very dishonourable Conditions. The Four Northern Counties being allowed the Rebels for their Winter Quarters, and 850 Pounds *per diem* during the Truce, for their Maintenance. Nor could it be otherwise hoped for, since Eleven of those Sixteen Lords which the King had appointed to treat with the *Scots*, were either Principal Leaders, or Assertors of the *Rebellion* in the following War.

The King summons the Peers to York. Makes a Truce with the Scots.

It will not be from the purpose to mention, what further happened in this Convention. The *Scots* seemed to wonder, that they appearing in Arms upon the Invitation of the *English* Lords, none of them, unmindful of the Favour, had made any mention of it; affirming, they had not come without the invitation of their Letters. The *English* Lords surprized with this Reproach, assured them, That they had made them no Invitation

tion at all. The *Scots* being highly moved with this denial, produced an Instrument subscribed with most of their Hands, which strangely surpris'd them; until, upon a strict scrutiny, they found it to be an Invention of the Lord *Savils*, who had really sent them the said Invitation, counterfeiting the subscribed Hands; which being now discovered by his own Confession, it was thought fit, seeing the Cheat had succeeded so well, not to publish it.

Strafford alone did dare to advise against this fordid Compliance with the Enemy, urging, That the *Scots* were to be forced back with Steel, not Gold. He further advised the King, to grant them no Conditions unworthy himself, or the *English Nation*. Let him but give him leave, and he would upon peril of his Head, oblige them to return to their Country, and Duty to their Prince again. This vigorous Advice did so far irritate the *Scots*, that they prosecuted the Author of it to Death. On the other side, *Hampton*, suspected to favour his Countrymen, perswaded a Peace, to which the rest of the Peers did also assent; upon a supposition, that a Parliament, and an Agreement, were the securest Remedies against the impending Evil. The Cessation being thus concluded, the main of it was referred to the Arbitration of a *Parliament*, which the King had already summoned to meet at *Westminster*. And this is that fatal Convection, which, by the Pre-eminency of the Puritans in it, consummated their Impiety and Disobedience, by ruining the most Apostolick Church under Heaven, and Murthuring the best Prince that ever swayed the *English Scepter*.

Nov. 3.
1640.
*The Rebel-
Parliament
meets.*

The King might have expected better treating from this *Meeting*, seeing he did not call it (to use his own Words) *more by others Advice, and the Necessity of His Affairs, than by his own Choice* and

and Inclination; who always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for his Crown, as best pleasing to His Subjects and People. In the mean time, the King tells them in the House of Lords, the Commons present, *What had intervened in the War, and what else He judged necessary to be done; and presses them to supply Means whereby the Rebels might speedily be driven Home again; wherunto He also would contribute His Endeavours; assuring them further, That that being done, they should find him most ready to remove all their Grievances.* But they did not in any kind comply with the King's Desires, but seeming displeased with his calling the Scots Rebels, resolved not to send them Home, with whom they had long since confired, before they had acquired every thing that they judged necessary for the Support of their designed Usurpation. With this assurance, the Commons purge their House of such as they thought might oppose their Desires; and to shew themselves good Patriots, entertained such Petitions, as they themselves had for the most part framed, inveighing against Grievances from several Parts of the Kingdom; and omitting entirely what they were assembled for, imputed all the Misfortunes and Errors of the Government, obliquely to the King, through the Sides of his Counsellors and Servants. And yet they will seemingly flatter him, under pretence of inspecting his Revenue, which they pretended much to desire, promising, not only to augment and settle it, but to make his Majesty one of the Richest Princes in Christendom. In the mean time, to try his Patience, and their own Power with the People, they ordered *Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick* to be released out of Prison. Who in defiance of Justice, and the King's Authority, made a pompous Entry into London, attended with many Thousands of pretended Zealots. And now they encourage, and receive Petitions against the Hierarchy

*Preludes to
the ensuing
Rebellion.*

tarchy of the Church, resolving indeed to change both the Government thereof, and also of the State, by drawing the Supreme Power by little and little into their own Hands : Daring, in order to it, not only to flight, but to question the Lawfulness of the Royal Authority it self. But the King's Friends, and such who were addicted to Monarchy, were to be removed out of both *Houses* ; which they endeavour by Threats, by Tumults, and by affixing their Names upon Posts ; and, in time effected. For, several of the *Nobles*, and many of the *Lower House*, since they could not Vote with Liberty, absented thence altogether ; whilst they who stay'd, being either enslaved to the Faction, or unequal to them in Numbers, durst say nothing. The *Lord Keeper*, and *Secretary Windbank*, with divers others, withdrew themselves into *Holland* and *France*. The *Bishops* were Imprisoned and Ejected, against *Magna Charta*, and the immemorial Custom of past Ages, which allowed them a Legislative Power before Parliaments were Instituted. The *Judges* also, who had Voted Ship-Money to be Legal, were themselves voted Guilty of Treason, whilst the weight of their Indignation fell upon the *Earl of Strafford*, who, by the Instigation of the *Scots*, was to be taken away.

The Earl was then in the *North*, having been advertised by his Friends in the House, as also by his own Reason, of the Danger ; and therefore advised not to appear in *Parliament*, as knowing the Hatred and Envy, both That, and the *Scots* bare against him : Who if he kept himself out of their Sight and Reach, might perhaps be forgot, or at least being less prosecuted, make a secure retreat into *Ireland*, which was at his Devotion ; or beyond Sea, till better Times. But he relying upon his own Innocence, and unwilling to seem Guilty by a Retreat ; and the King being unwilling

willing to Part with a Person, whose Counsel he should want, in his most abstruse Affairs, came up to *London*. Yet so armed, that he had himself designed to Impeach some of his Chief Enemies, being sufficiently provided with Matter for an Accusation. But they were too nimble for him; for he had scarce taken his Seat in the *House of Lords*, but he was accused by the *Commons* of High-Treason. *The Tryal of the E of Strafford.* And yet, there were some Motions made in order to his Preservation, in Case the King would consent to advance some of the Grandees of the Faction, to the great Offices of the Crown. But That being delayed, or denied, did so incense the Disappointed, that, joining with the *Scots*, they became more implacable against him.

The Articles against this Great Man, were Twenty-eight in Number; whereof the chief were, *That he had Subverted the Fundamental Laws of the Land, Introduced a Despotick Power into the Kingdom, and endeavoured to destroy the Ancient Privileges of Parliament.* To these, Sir *Henry Vane's* Memorials were produced, wherein the Opinions of *Strafford*, and some others, given in Private to the King, were set down; which, as they added Weight to the Accusation, so they added Infamy and Infidelity to the *Secretary*, which he could not clear himself of, by pretending, his Son had stolen his Notes out of his Closet. But nothing of these were lawfully proved; although they had invited Witnesses and Accusers out of *Ireland*, too prone of their own accord to destroy this Great Man; that he being removed, they might attempt that Rebellion which they had long designed. For, refusing the Arguments produced against him, the *Faction* began to conceive, that if they did not destroy him, they should hazard their own Reputation, especially seeing the King had declared, in an Excellent Speech to the Two Houses, *That he could*

not apprehend him Guilty; and that it was very probable, that the Lords would also acquit him. Being therefore incensed against him, they resolved to destroy him, Voting him, by a Special Bill of *Attainder*, Guilty of High-Treason; for that he had endeavoured to infringe the Laws, and had by accumulative Crimes, rend'ed himself more than sufficiently obnoxious; thereby, making themselves his Accusers and Judges. And, thus he was Condemned, by a New Law, made since his Transgressions: *For Crimes not yet perpetrated: Not for the Ill he had already committed, but that he had enabled himself to do what he pleased.* But they wisely cautioned, that this should not be made a President, whereby they might secure themselves against that Retribution of Injustice, which they had used towards him. By this they plainly acknowledged, the Injuriousness of their Sentence; for had it been otherwise, what harm could there have been in the Example? Whilst they were thus employed, the Tumults without, fomented by the Chief of the Conspiracy, raged horribly, especially against their Dissenting Colleagues, whereof Fifty-nine had their Names posted up for *Strafordians*; that is, Publick Enemies; that thereby they might be exposed to the Madness of the Rabble: Though, in truth, they deserved to have their Names inserted in Gold, for daring so generously to assert oppressed Innocence. Of these, the Lord Digby was one, who had been as severe as any in the Prosecution of the Earl, till convinced of his Error, by the Lustre of the others Vertue, he generously recanted; whereby he lost himself in the Opinion of the *Faction*, particularly by that admirable Speech which he made in the House upon passing that Fatal Bill.

*He is Con-
demned.*

The incensed Multitude flew to that height of Violence, that, amongst other Insolences, they did

did dare to assault the *Spanish Ambassador's House*, upon Pretence of his shelt'ring of *Papists*; and, certainly he had run great hazard of being forced, if he had not been timely rescued from their Fury, by the then Lord Mayor; insomuch, that he did not doubt to question, whether they were a Civilized People or not, seeing they so barbarously violated the Law of Nations. The *Lord's House* enforced by the Tumults, did also, after much Reluctancy, assent to the Bill of Attainder, not considering, that their Authority would sink with the King's, seeing it was not probable, that these Men would spoil the Crown, to adorn the Nobles. But the King himself satisfied of the Innocence of the Prisoner, resisted longer, slighting the Uproars of the Populace, who, by Instigation of the Factions, perpetually cryed out for Justice. Neither did he much value the Opinion of the *Judges*, their Compliance being occasioned by their Fears; against whom he also complained, That instead of easing him of his Doubts, they amused him by their ambiguous Answers. The *Bishops* also, who were to satisfy his Scruples in point of Conscience, seemed to refer him to the Judges, save only, that Doctor *Juxton*, the then *Bishop of London*, had told him, *That he should do nothing against the Dictates of his Conscience, upon any Consideration in the World*: Which he afterwards remembred, to the great Honour of that Excellent Prelate. Nor did he comply with the Fears of his Friends and Family, until overcome, not perswaded, by the Earl's own Importunity, and Letters; who desired it, out of Hopes his Death might satisfy these Blood-thirsty Men, and atone betwixt the King and his People. He ^{murdered, and} then, however unwillingly, subscribed; though by a Candour not to be imitated, he did all his Life after, as also at his Death, blame this too easie Assent, even in himself. In the mean time, he

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would

lamented
by the
King.

would make one Attempt more; in order to which, he wrote a Letter to the Lords, all with his own Hand; which he also sent by his own Son, the Prince; wherein he desired, *That, seeing he had assented to the Justice of the Parliament, his Clemency might also take Place*; which some affirm, was promised before he Signed the Bill, but that was but to extort it by any means; for now they tell him, by a Deputation of Twelve of their House, *That it could not be done, without the extream Peril of the Royal Family*. He will however solemnize his Obsequies with Tears; for, when the Archbishop of Armagh gave him an Account of the Exit of this Illustrious Innocent; adding, *That he had never seen so white a Soul restored to its Creator*, he could not forbear weeping. And, thus fell this Great Person, being then also Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Second to none for Wisdom, Loyalty, and Greatness of Mind; and who, as the King affirmed in his Divine Soliloquies, *was a Gentleman, whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed, to employ him in the greatest Affairs of State*. He fell, as is said, by a Decree, *à post facto*, but shall rise again, by a Posthume Law, upon the Restauration of King Charles the Second; he being then by a more Righteous Parliament, restored also to the Glories of his Honour and Innocence.

The Act of
Continu-
ance.

Nor was it by this Act only that the King contributed to his own Ruine, by removing so Excellent a Servant, and so firm a Pillar of the State; but he also gave his Consent to that of Continuance of this Parliament, during the Pleasure of both Houses; depriving himself, by this Fatal Indulgence, of one of the Principal Flowers of his Crown, which was, the Disposal of the Meeting, Proroguing, and Dissolving of these Conventions at his Pleasure. For, this signal and unusual Concession of his, was abused to that height by these
most

most Ungrateful of Men, that they took occasion hence, not only to ruine their Benefactor, but wholly to subvert the Government; which they also effected.

The *Archbishop of Canterbury*, had been already Impeached, and was now close Prisoner in the *Tower*. And seeing he was the Chief Pillar of the Church of *England*, as appears in his Admirable Book against *Fisher*, the Jesuit; and he having converted Two and Twenty from the *Romish* to the *Protestant* Religion, as he asserted in the House of Lords, when he was accused there of Popery; he was also to be removed: For, since the Ecclesiastical and Civil Governments were to be extirpated, it was thought proper, that the Principal Asserters of both, should be sacrificed to the Ambition of the *English* and *Scottish Novelists*. Neither did the Fates of these Great Men, suffice to dispel the pretended Fears and Jealousies of the *Commons*; for, being elated, not satisfied, with these unexpected Concessions, they only encreased their Appetites; and, seeing now they were feared, and that, by the Madness of the People, whom they had bewitch'd with an Opinion of their Sanctity, there was a way laid open to greater Matters; they did not blush to attempt the King's Royal Person and Family: Who, though he had granted more to the Petitions of the Parliament, than ever any Subjects had demanded, he would yet have yielded to more, for the Good of his People, provided it did not intrench upon his Honour and Conscience. But these Concessions did not suffice them, who would have all, though they did not yet declare so far. In the mean time, they looked upon what the King had so generously bestowed upon them, but as Dues, interpreting them to have proceeded from his Necessities, not Inclinations; so that nothing he could either say, or do, could gain the

the Favour of this Ungrateful Faction.

The King's Concessions. After the Death of *Strafford*, his Majesty had denied them nothing that they had not been ashamed to ask. The *Star-Chamber*, the *Archbishop's Court*, as also that of the *Northern Borders*, were taken away. Other Courts, as those of the *Star-chamber*, and of *Ludlow*, &c. were circumscribed in narrower Bounds. *Monopolies* were entirely condemned. *Ship-Money*, and those other Maritime Revenues, that never Prince had as yet parted with, were suppressed. To all this a *Triennial Parliament* (lest any should dare to offend for the future) and the Continuance of this, during the Pleasure of the Two Houses, as is already said, was unhappily assented unto. And further, to witness the Candour of his Intentions, he admitted several of the most popular of the Faction, of his Privy-Council; the *Lord Say*, being made Master of the *Wards*; *Essex*, *Lord Chamberlain*; *Holland*, *Groom of the Stole*; *Leicester*, *Lieutenant of Ireland*; and *St. John*, *Solicitor General*. But what Retribution did they make the King, for all these Graces and Indulgences of Favour? They gave him no Money, nor any Thing else, save the empty Promises and Dreams of a Glorious Principality.

The Scots dismissed.

The *Scots* having been kept thus long by the Parliament, to awe the King, and now sufficiently Burthenfom to the Kingdom, the Parliament having served their Turn of them, were to be sent Home; and are now dismissed, having exacted by Contributions, Rapines, Spoils, Gratuities and Stipend, above a Million of Money from the *English*, and their Representatives. Posterity will certainly blush, when they shall consider the inglorious Actions of their Predecessors, in receiving and treating the rebellious and invading *Scots*, as Friends; which makes it manifest, that their Coming was an Invitation,

Invitation, not Invasion. Nor would our grave Senators, have honoured them with the Title of *Dear Brethren*, or procured an Order to declare them faithful and loyal Subjects, (having been proclaimed Rebels by the King) and that in all the Churches and Chapels, upon a Thanksgiving day; nor have contributed so largely to their Subsistence, but that they had conspired with them, and propagated their Councils, by the same manner of rebelling: For it would have cost less in Money, and Honour, to have forced them, as Enemies, out of our Borders, than to retain them in *England* by a sordid Compliance, as Friends? By allowing them Quarters, they impose a Burthen upon the Country, which they ease by a Taxation upon the Subject. But their Design had always been, to keep the Treasury low, and involve the King in Debts, which should necessitate him to agree with the Parliament, for the ruining of *Strafford*, the Extirpation of *Episcopacy*, and the perpetuating of their own Session.

About this Time, the Armies in *England* and *Ireland* were Disbanded, the Noise of War ceasing with their Dismission. But, lest the *Irish*, who had been raised against the *Scots*, to the Number of Eight Thousand, should attempt any Commotions, the King had given leave to the *Spanish* and *French* Ambassadors, to transport them for their Masters Service. But that was opposed by the Parliament, upon the earnest pressing of the *Irish Commissioners*, who having now removed *Strafford*, resolved to add to that Rebellion they had Designed, by the Accession of those Common Souldiers.

The King followed his Countrymen into *Scot-* *The King goes into*
land, where he not only confirmed the Concessions *Scotland*.
 they had extorted in *England*, but graciously conferred upon them whatsoever they demanded of him; not considering, that degenerate and ungrateful

grateful Persons, are not to be obliged with any Favours whatsoever.

Oct. 23. Nor was it in *England* only, that Discord had
 1641. displayed her Arts of Faction and Tumult. The
The Irish *Irish* following the detestable Example of the *Scots*,
Rebellion. who had attained by Arms what their Ambition
 had designed, outwent them only in this, That
 they Rebelled more bloodily. 'Tis strange with
 what industry, so universal and so nefarious a Con-
 spiracy was concealed, which was scarce discovered,
 but with the inhumane Slaughter of an Hundred
 Thousand Persons. And it is scarce conceivable,
 that those who were at the Helm of Government,
 should be so negligent or supine, as to suffer a *Plot*
 of this horrid Nature, to gather to a Head, and
 break out, to the Infection of the whole Body Po-
 litick, without any the least Discovery, or pene-
 trating into it. Especially seeing his Majesty, whose
 Eye was still awake for the Preservation of his
 Mar. 16. People, had Cautioned the Lords Chief-Justices,
Parsons and *Burlace*, of some dangerous Designs in
 agitation in *Ireland*; and that, Six Months before
 this fatal Eruption, which His Majesty also signi-
 fied to them he had been acquainted with, from
 his Ambassadors and Agents in Foreign Courts.
 Nor was the Information of Sir *William Cole*, who
 certified them Twelve Days before it broke out,
 of unusual Resorts and Concourses of suspicious
 Persons amongst themselves, so despicable, but
 that it ought to have been inquired into; and such
 Means and Preparations should in common Prudence
 have been used, as might have checkt any sudden
 Attempts or Insurrections whatsoever. And truly,
 the great Supineness, and Security of the *English* in
 general, did not a little contribute to their
 Ruine. For they could apprehend no Danger,
 considering the perfect Intelligence betwixt them
 and the *Irish*, cemented by inter-Marriages, and
 all

all other imaginable Ties of Friendship; which seemed the more secure, seeing the Catholicks were permitted the private Enjoyment of their Religion, and had obtained, not onely a considerable Abatement in their Subsidies, but many advantageous Redresses from the King's Favour, in all their Concerns; so that they were, at this present, in a more flourishing Condition, than they had yet enjoyed since their first Subjection. In this Security, the *Irish* Army had been disbanded, but the Soldiery not disposed of, according to the King's Intention, and Promises to foreign Embassadors, who for want of other Employment, proved very assisting to the designed Rebellion, by engaging in it.

But the *Irish*, who had so often and for so many Ages endeavoured to vindicate their Liberty, and shake off the heavy Yoke of the *English*, thinking now the Occasion (by the Death of *Strafford*, and *Their* *Real* the disbanding of the Army he had raised) very *sons*. inviting, they eagerly laid hold on it, hoping to emancipate themselves from the Slavery they groaned under; or at least, in Imitation of the *Scots*, acquire by Arms, as they had done, new Immunities and Privileges. But the main thing insisted upon, was their Religion, which had been derived to them by an immemorial Series of Ancestors, and which they always adhered to, with inexpressible *Bigottry*: so that observing it to be extreemly persecuted in *England*, and fearing the like Measure at Home, it served for the main Pretence of their Rebellion. Nor is it absurd to believe, but that the Conspirators in *England*, contributed equally to these Tumults, as they had done before to the *Scottish Commotions*, since * some of their Party affirmed, * *Clot-worthy, Pryn, Parsons, Loftus,* That the Conversion of the *Irish*, was to be effected with the Sword in one hand, and the Bible in the other. *Ireland* could not do well without a Rebellion, to the end the Remnant of the Natives might be destroyed. They would

would not leave a Priest in Ireland, but extirpate their Superstition and Nation. So that it was thought by many, that the *Irish* were forced by the *English*, by these Provocations, to take up Arms, that they might, upon so plausible a pretext, be intirely ruined, and rooted out, as Rebels and Traytors. What other Reasons they gave, as Oppression, Grievances, Privileges, &c. common to all Rebellions, may pass as such; but that they should pretend to vindicate the King's *Prerogative* by destroying it, is only proper to them, and those nefarious Regicides who did so naturally copy them. But whatever were the Pretences of the Revolters, it is but rational to believe they had never broke out, but for the Prospect they had of a Breach (which they could not but know from their Committee at *London*, most whereof were Catholicks, and many, as the Lord *Germanston*, &c. prime Actors in the Rebellion) betwixt the King and Parliament. For, they could have had no Aid from abroad, *France* and *Spain* being engaged in a War, and the *Pope*, though he might wish well, remote and not over liberal; so that they must necessarily have been ruined by the Forces of *England* and *Scotland*.

The Con-
spiracy is
discovered.

The Conspiracy being brought to Maturity, many of the Gentlemen first, and afterwards most of the Nobility, as also the entire Multitude of the *Romish* Religion, joined in it; and with unheard-of Secrecy, assaulted, suppressed, and took most of the Towns and Fortresses of the Kingdom; and sparing none, these barbarous Traytors massacred, without Respect of Sex, or Age, them of the *English* Nation and Religion, filling all Places where they came, with Ruine, Rapines, Burnings, and infinite Slaughters.

Dublin, the chief Seat of the Government and Kingdom, was not surprized, being saved by the seasonable Infidelity of one *O Conall*, an *Irish* man;

man; who, being convinced by the horridness of the Fact, or greatness of the Reward he hoped for from its Discovery; lays open the whole Conspiracy, acquainting the Chief-Justices with the Design, the Night before it was to have been put in Execution. *London-derry, Colraue, Tredagh,* with some other Towns and Fortresses standing upon their Defence, escaped the Danger, which with the Arrival of some few Forces from *England*, occasioned a very long and very bloody War.

The Lords Justices having secured the Castle of *Dublin*, where the King's Magazines were, and the *Dublin* City as well as they could, with armed Men; they cured the next Morning apprehended *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, Grand-child to the late rebellious *Earl of Tyrone*; who by his unwary Confidence, or rather divine Providence, had occasioned the Discovery, by entrusting *O Conalli* with the Secret. Being brought before the Council, he boldly avowed the Conspiracy, affirming, That as it was universal, and to be put in execution that instant Morning; so it was not humanely possible to be prevented. He acknowledged himself their Prisoner, and being in their Power, they might use him as they pleased; he was sure to be suddenly revenged. The *Lord Macquier*, another of the principal Conspirators, was also taken, but few more of Quality; the rest of the Undertakers, as *Roger More, Plunket, Birne*, and others having escaped. The Citizens, with such as could be confided in, were immediately armed, and Proclamation made, and sent into all Quarters, of the Discovery of this flagitious Rebellion, and their Disappointment of their Attempt upon *Dublin*; as also to exhort all good Subjects to betake themselves to their Defence. Upon this Proclamation, the Lords of the *English* Pale being of *British* Extraction, and who in all former rebellions, had been true to the Crown, pretending Ignorance of any

*Some of the
Conspirators taken.*

any Plot before this publick Notice, repaired to the Council, with Assurances of their Fidelity, and offer of their Service. And they were not only entrusted, it being dangerous to suspect them in this Juncture; but had also Arms delivered to them upon their Desires, and Commissions to levy Men for their own Defence, and that of their Provinces.

The standing Forces in *Ireland* consisting of scarce 1000 Horse and 2000 Foot, were dispersed in the several Fortresses of the Kingdom; but so remote, that it was not possible, the ways being intercepted by the Rebels, to draw them to a Body: besides, many of them being Catholicks, revolted, and others were surpris'd or intercepted, so that few of them could be brought to *Dublin*. The City was in the mean time fortified, with all imaginable Industry; being also daily filled with Numbers of such, who fled from the cruel and inhumane Barbarities of the Rebels. Of these, and the neighbouring *English*, two Regiments were formed, whereof Sir *Henry Tichburne* had one, together with the Government of *Tredagh*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, the other, with the Command of *Dublin*. These two Places being the principal Fortresses of the Party.

The Justices and Council dispatched an Express to the King, who was then in *Scotland*, and to the Parliament at *Westminster*, of the Discovery and Progress of the Conspiracy. His Majesty highly perplexed, as most concerned, with this monstrous Rebellion; offers all his Assistance for the suppressing of it; acquaints the Parliament of *Scotland* with it, and demands their Aid in it; conjures the two Houses at *Westminster*, and empowers them to use the utmost of Force and Counsel to prevent the Progress of the Rebellion, and deliver his Protestant Subjects, from the Calamities that threatned them. Nay, sometime after he offered to go in Person, and raise

10000

10000 *Voluntiers* for that Service, if the Parliament would but pay them; all which they refuse, under pretence of not exposing his Sacred Person to so eminent Danger; but in truth, preferring their own Fears to the Solace of so many desolate Sufferers: and lest, when he had conquered those Rebels, he might be sensible of the Injuries done him, and being armed become formidable to the Parliament it self. The Houses indeed voted a powerful Relief of Men, Money, and Provisions, but they were but slow in Performance, retarding the Supplies they had so eagerly ordered, with their undutiful Disputes, and Quarrels with the Court, till the whole was well nigh lost. Bleeding *Ireland* was the Subject of their Discourse, not their Care, being too much taken up with the Management of their own Designs at Home, so that they went no farther, besides exclaiming at the Obstacles, they themselves created; and that by a Calumny black as the Rebellion it self, they cast the Odium of those Delays, upon the unfulfilled Innocence in the World, the King: than whom, no Prince could be more sensibly affected with the greatness of the Calamity, nor desired the Wellfare of his Subjects with more Affection.

The King having appeased *Scotland*, returned to *London*, where he was received with the general Acclamations of the People; and all the Pomp imaginable, being met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and royally feasted together with the Queen and Prince at *Whitehall*. But the Parliament being much disturbed with this solemn Entertainment, had prepared another reception for his Majesty. They had used all their Arts to hinder his going into *Scotland*, lest peradventure he should tamper with his Army by the way, of which they had already created to themselves several Jealousies, it being as yet but in disbanding: or that he should gain

The King returns out of Scotland.

gain too much upon the *Scots-Parliament* by his Concessions and Favours. But, what they more openly acted was, to press the King to substitute a *Lieutenant* in his absence, who might personate him, not obscurely designing the Earl of *Essex* for this honour; by which grant, they might have divested him of every thing but his Title before his return, which he perceiving, wisely refused them so ruinous a Concession. And yet he commissioned him General on the South-side of *Trent*, with Power to raise Forces in case of Necessity. But the *Faction* impatient of every Repulse, in revenge, framed a *Remonstrance* in his absence; wherein, whatever was defective in the Government, was, as usually, attributed to his Counsellours, with the usual Reflections upon himself. But, the Misfortunes, and what Errors were committed, ought truly to be laid at their Doors, which they were not ignorant of, seeing the *Parliament* absolutely denied to supply the Necessities of the Crown, both at Home and Abroad, whereby things often miscarried, and Money was sometimes raised by extraordinary Ways. But the King, informed of their Design, and not ignorant of the Force of ingenious Calumny, had desired them not to emit the said *Remonstrance*; not that he feared the Truth, but that he apprehended the Poison of plausible Malice. But these modest Men refused to comply in so small a matter with their King, which produced an Answer from his Majesty, no less just, and reasonable to all Men of Sense, than that monstrous *Libel* was fertile of falsity and imposture.

The Parliament publish their Remonstrance.

The Commons, to gain Credit to the Terrors wherewith they had exagitated the People, and lest they should have the least Suspicion of hazard to the Service of God, had in *May* framed a *Protestation* and *Oath*, without acquainting the King or House of Lords with it, which rendered it *ipso facto* illegal,

1641.
Frame the Protestation.

illegal, which was swallowed by most Men; none of the Lower House, nor scarce any of the Upper refusing it, and afterwards imposed upon the whole Kingdom, which generally took it, without observing the Poison hid under it. This *Protestation* appeared very plausible at first sight, promising to defend Religion according to Law, and the King according to Religion; if it had not admitted occasion to those fictitious Bug-bears of *Fears* and *Jealousies*; or planed, and ushered the way, to that rebellious Confederation called the *Covenant*, betwixt these perfidious Wretches, and their no less perfidious Brethren, the *Scots*. The *Faction* also in process of time, explaining this *Protestation*, affirmed their meaning to be, That by the true *Reformed Protestant Religion*, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, against all Popery and Popish Innovations, contrary to the same Doctrine, is meant only the publick Doctrine professed in the Church, so far, as it is opposite to Popery, and Popish Innovation: and that the said words, are not to extend to the maintaining of any Form of Worship, Discipline or Government; nor of any Rites, or Ceremonies of the said Church of *England*: so that upon the Matter, it seems manifest, that the *Hierarchy* of *Bishops*, and the *Liturgy*, were plainly designed for Extirpation.

The other Arts, whereby the *Bell-weather*s of the *Faction* daily incensed the People, were the feigning, and then themselves detecting of Plots and Conspiracies, and imaginary Designs, wherewith they strangely troubled and afrighted the giddy Rabble; who, by an implicit Credulity, believed all that was told them, to the prejudice of the King or his Friends, whom they stigmatized with the odious Characters of *Papists*, and *Malignants*. Nor was it an Artifice of less Cunning in them, to procure Subscriptions from the unthink-
ing

ing Crowd, to occasional Petitions of their own framing; pretending Grievances and Dangers, and demanding Remedies against them, as in publick Calamities.

On the other side, the King hitherto patient, seeing his Clemency more and more abused, by the Contumacy of his Adversaries, resolved to punish these Disturbers of the Publick Peace: And, being informed, that some Members of Parliament had private Meeting and Caballing with the Scots, who also had countenanced the late Tumults; he gave Warrants to seize their Papers, and secure their Persons; but they being withdrawn, he caused One of the *Upper House* and Five of the *Lower*, to be accused of High-Treason. His Majesty had had Advertisment of their Caballing when he was in *Scotland*, but had forbore them hitherto, upon hope, that his Indulgence might have laid the Storms these Men had raised; but finding the contrary, he caused them to be Impeach'd by his Attorney General, Sir *Ed. Herbert*, and sent a Sergeant at Arms to demand them of the *House*, which they were so far from complying with, that they immediately voted, That no Person whatsoever, should offer to Arrest, or Detain, any Member of that *House*, without Order from the *House*. But they had forgot their own Resolves in Sir *George Ratcliff's* Case, who being a Member of the Parliament in *Ireland*, had it determined against him, That no Privilege of Parliament there nor here, should reach to Protect him in Case of High-Treason. The King therefore entring their House in Person, required they should be delivered to the Law. The Crimes objected against them were; That, amongst other Things, they had endeavour'd to subvert the Laws; had invited Foreigners (the Scots) to Invade the Kingdom; that they had raised Tumults, and Seditious, and had alienated the Subjects Affections

The King
enters the
House of
Commons.

Affections from their King. But these Traytors, having private Notice of the Design against them, by one of the *Court Ladies, withdrew themselves into *Westminster-Hall*; where, hiding themselves that Night, they in the Morning fled into the City, from whence they in a few Days returned, with no less Pomp than Impudence.

* Countess
of Carlisle.

'Tis scarce credible, with what Bitterness the seditious calumniating Spirits in the *Commons House*, traduced this Act of the King's. They cried out, *Their Privileges were destroyed, and that never such Violence had been offered to so great a Court, by any of his Predecessors*: Not considering, *That there is no Sanctuary for Rebellion*, which was the present Case, and they themselves will hereafter turn out the whole Body of the *House*. During these Traverses, the tumultuous Uproars being encouraged by the *Puritans*, grew daily more licentious; inso-much, that a *Preaching Iron-monger*, dared to throw a Libel, intituled, *To your Tents O Israel*, into his Majesty's Coach, the Multitude bellowing without ceasing, *Privileges of Parliament, Privileges of Parliament*.

The Parliament hereupon transfer their Session into the City, their Adjournment being to keep up the Belief, that they did not Sit in Safety, and to countenance the Attempt upon the *Militia*, which they now were designing; where, infusing into the People, gave them also a false Alarm by their Emissaries, who running through the Streets of the City at dead time of the Night, cried terribly, *That the King was coming with an Army of Papists to destroy them*; which wrought so effectually, that the Inhabitants, raised with the Horrour of the imaginary Danger, took Arms, and in an instant got into a Body of no less than Forty Thousand Men; whilst the Women also filled the Streets with Benches, Stools, Tubs, &c. to hinder the Passage of the Horse, and provided

A terrible
Alarm in
the City.

D

scalding

scalding Water to throw upon them. The Non-appearance of these Souldiers in the Air, could not undeceive the People, being kept warm with successive hourly Discoveries of Plots and Dangers; so that the *Parliament* which was returned, guarded by great Numbers from *London* to *Westminster*, as it were in Triumph, importuned the King again for Guards, and that under the Command of *Essex*; pretending Danger, from I know not what Ambushes and Conspiracies. But the King, though he shewed the Vanity of these imaginary Terrors, and offered his own Person Bayl for their Security, was not heard. Nay, he offered them Two Hundred of the City *Militia*, under the Command of the *Lord Chamberlain*, whose Province it was to take care of the *Parliament*; which they rejected, ordering Two Companies under *Skippon*, a Slave to the Faction, to attend them; whilst an infinite Number of the enraged Rabble, as it were assaulting *Whitehall* and *Westminster*, crying, *No Bishop, Down with Antichrist, &c.* forced the King's Friends, who would have entered the *House*, to retire. And, these Fellows, being for the most part such whose Domestick Affairs were, either inconsiderable, or desperate, and consequently, as usual, most busie, and most concerned for the Publick; exclude and force away the *Bishops*, knowing them to be immoveable in their Loyalty and Obedience to the King and Government. And when this *Sacred Order* had protested against this Violence, the *Houses* enraged at it, sent Twelve of them, whom they had voted Guilty of *High-Treason*, to the *Tower*; whereby they secured themselves from their Votes, destroying afterwards, as much as in them lay, their very Function. Nor did these Miscreants forbear, to vomit their Gall against the Sacred Person of the King himself, by villainous and licentious Speeches; some of them crying out, *That he was*
the

Twelve Bishops committed to the Tower.

the *Traytor*; others, *That the Young Prince would govern better*; and a prime Leader yell'd out, *That the King was not fit to live*. Infomuch, that his Majesty perceiving their unbridled Rage, which was cherished by those Sons of Violence in the *Houses*, and having, though in vain, attempted all ways to appease their Fury, he removed with his Queen and Children to *Hampton-Court*.

After some Stay there, *his Majesty* and the *Queen* went to *Dover*, with the *Princess Mary*, married some Time since to the *Prince of Orange*, from whence the Queen passed into *Holland*, under Pre-^{The Queen goes to Holland.}text of conveying her Daughter to her Husband, but truly, to secure her Person; which was not meanly threatned, upon Account of her Religion, and Conjugal Affection. At *Canterbury*, being every where importuned by Messages from the *Parliament*, he was perswaded, though much against his Will, to Sign a *Bill* for taking away the *Bishops Votes in Parliament*. But no Concession could satisfie Unreasonable Men; infomuch, that his Majesty being returned to *Greenwich*, he went thence with the *Prince* and *Duke of York* to *Theobalds*, and so Northwards.

This Conduct, as it happened, proved Fatal to the King. And some prudent Men did then wonder, that his Majesty would leave the City, the Seat of his Kingdom, which had been also that of his Predecessors; filled with Multitudes of his Friends, abounding in Riches, and all Military Provisions, and the only proper place both for Peace and War; and withdraw himself into the ^{The King leaves Whitehall,}Country, where all these Advantages were wanting. But the Terrors wherewith his Followers, and particularly the *Royal Family*, were agitated, and the Apprehensions his Majesty had entertained upon their Account, as also the Hopes that these Animosities and Heats in the *Lower House* might cool in Time, seem to excuse his Retreat.

Nor was the King so abandoned by his People, but that many honest and brave Men, as well of their own Accord, as very many more by *Gurney*, the *Lord Mayor's* Procurement, mingled themselves with the Rabble, with design to defend the King's Sacred Person, from the Insults and Violence of the Crowd, if they should presume to attempt any thing against him. Nay, the whole Society of *Grays-Inn* (which shewed, That the *Law* as well as *Reason* was for him) coming to *Whitehall* in order, offered themselves to guard his Majesty; which seasonable profession of Duty, drew from the King, both his Acknowledgements and Thanks; though he otherwise waved the offer supposing those popular Heats and Insurrections, might be best allayed by removing, and yielding; and lest also, he might be thought to meditate a War.

But the *Parliament* to add Credit, at least Colour, to the Terrors they had imbued the People with, gave Power to the *Sheriffs* and *Justices of Peace* in the Counties, to suppress all seditious and suspected Assemblies, and seize upon all Arms and Instruments of War, and secure the same. Amongst other terrible Triflings, it was affirmed, That the *Lord Digby* and *Colonel Lunsford*, had appeared in Arms at *Kingstone* with great Numbers, though their Cavalry amounted but to a hired Coach with Six Horses, which they ordered to be suppressed, and the *Colonel* was taken and sent to the *Tower*.

and goes
North-
ward.

After this, they follow the King to *Roylston* with an insolent Petition, wherein they demanded the *Tower*, the *Fortresses*, and *Militia* of the Kingdom to be delivered to them. But these, being inseparable Flowers of the *Crown*, were not to be parted with to any; and his Majesty being again pressed to it, continued immoveable, telling them in short, *That their Fears, and Doubts, and Jealousies,*

Ionies; which he looked upon as wild and irregular, were such, as he would take time to satisfy the World of; but that his own were not trivial, occasioned by the many scandalous Pamphlets, seditious Sermons, sundry publick Tumults hitherto uninquied into, and unpunished. But the Faction seeing the Constancy of the King, formed a Declaration, wherein, after a nauseous Enumeration of Grievances, Fears and Jealousies, they again peremptorily demand the disposal of the *Militia*; and being again refused, resolved to extort it from their King, with all their Force. Nor was it absurd in them; for, being conscious of their Crimes and Deserts, they could not imagine how to secure themselves from the Punishment due to their Guilt, but by asserting the Power of the Sword in their own Hands. They therefore passed their Ordinance for the *Militia*, though with solemn protesting, That they had not the least Intention or Purpose of any War with the King (but how falsely!) which made it swallowed the easier. They then seized upon the *Fleet*, appointing the Earl of Warwick their *Admiral*, and possessed themselves of *Hull*, lest the King should secure the *Magazine* there: by whose Governour, his Majesty, when he would have entered the Town, was shut out by an unheard-of Insolence, and manifest Disobedience. And this is that *Hotham*, the unhappy Monument of improsperous Infidelity, who falling from one Inconstancy to another, suffered at length Punishment (together with his Eldest Son, who, to aggravate his Misery, was executed before him) due to so flagitious a Crime, being beheaded by those for whose Sake he had so desperately rebelled.

The Parliament arm, and the King is excluded at Hull.

The Dye of War being thus cast at *Hull*, the Parties flew out into open Action; but, lest they should not pretend Justice, the Cause was defended on both Sides with Declarations, Apologies, and other publick Writings; which, because they

are extant, I will only add, That as the King had the better Cause, so it was also asserted with a better Pen, however otherwise unfortunate.

BOOK II.

The King attempts Hull in vain. Propositions sent to his Majesty to York. Most of the Lords, and many of the Commons repair to his Majesty. He erects his Standard at Nottingham, and raises an Army. Essex, the Rebels General at Worcester, at Keynton. The famous Battel of Edge-hill. Fight at Branford. The King fortifies Oxford. Some Actions in other Provinces. The Queen lands at Burlington. Goes to Oxford. The Battel of Lansdowne; Of Rownday Downe. The Siege and Relief of Gloucester. The great Battel of Newbury. The Parliament invite the Scots to their Succour. They enter England. The Siege of York. The fatal Battel of Marston-Moor. The Fights at Brandon Heath and Copredy-bridge. Essex defeated in the West. The second Battel of Newbury. Alexander Carew, and the Two Hothams beheaded. Mac-Mahon and Macquier executed. The Archbishop of Canterbury martyr'd. The Treaty at Uxbridge. Essex discarded, and Sir Thomas Fairfax made General in his Place.

Hotham
proclaimed
Treason.

HIS Majesty, upon *Hotham's* insolent Refusal, caused him instantly to be proclaimed Traytor. On the other side, the Parliament declare they will defend him; and complain highly, of the Breach of their Privileges therein; as if the King had violated his Subjects Immunities, by pretending to the Possession of his own Town, and the Magazine

Magazine he had purchased with his own Money. They further, sent some of their Members, to disturb the King's Preparations at York; which they did so effectually, that he lost the Opportunity of raising an Army in that County. Perceiving then, the Danger his Person was in, by the Enemies forwardness, he demanded a Guard of the Gentry, and Free-holders of York-shire, which was easily assented to. Whereupon, the Parliament declared, *That the King, seduced by evil Counsellours, did design to make War upon his Parliament; forgetting, that they had done the same, being exagitated with their fictitious Terrors Eight Months before.*

The King, with his said Guard, and the feeble Assistance of the Trained Bands, attempted ~~him~~; but, finding it an Enterprize of much Difficulty, would not spend that Time which was so precious, in so hazardous an Undertaking. But the Parliament, confident now in their Numbers and Power, (for the City of London and the neighbouring Counties were at their Devotion) sent a Remonstrance, with Nineteen Propositions, to the King; by which, they demand in Effect, that he should surrender all his Regal Power into their Hands: tho they disguised as much as they could their Intentions, with a Mixture of some Things really to be approved of by every honest man; others specious and popular; and some already granted by his Majesty. All which, as the King well observed in his Answer, *were cunningly twisted, and mixed with other Things of their main Design of Ambition and private Interest.*

But, the Propositions the Parliament made to the People, were of another Nature; for, they invited them by an Order, to bring in Plate and Money to Guild-hall, for the Restitution whereof they should have the publick Faith, and all under pretence of rescuing the King out of the hands of Papists

The King attempts Hull in vain.

Nineteen Propositions sent to his Majesty.

The Parliaments Order to bring in Plate.

and Malignants; for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Privileges of Parliament. And never any Contributions were granted with more earnest and mistaken Zeal, than those that were thrown into their *Corban* by the London and Neighbouring Puritans, under the pretext of Godliness; but to their own Ruine, as it happened. The Richer Citizens, gave their Money and Plate with Joy, and the Women offered their Jewels and Ear-Rings, to this *Calf of Presbytery*. Nay, the Poorer, both married and Maidens, gave their Wedding Rings, their Bodkins, and their Thimbles to promote this *Holy War*. They were all hurried into this mad Humour, by the fantastick Ardour of their *Levites*. These being the *Bontefens* of Rebellion and Tumult, who bellowing in their Assemblies, that Religion would be overwhelmed with Popery, and their Liberties supplanted by the Approaches of Tyranny, declared, that there was no Deliverance to be expected, but from the Parliament.

The Parliament raise an Army, under the Command of Essex.

With these Arts, and Moneys from the City, that *Nursery of Rebellion*, a great Army was raised under the Command of the Earl of Essex, and sent forth to destroy the *Malignants*, (for so they called such, who by the Principles of Honour and Duty, adher'd to their Prince) and to rescue the King, as they gloried, out of the Hands of his wicked Counsellours. The Title of King, was as yet held in great Veneration by the People. It pleased them therefore, to entitle their War to the King and Parliament, though nothing more contrary to both. They had not as yet separated Kingship from the Person, which shortly after happened; for, distinguishing betwixt the Politick and Private Capacity of the Chief Magistrate, they dared impudently to affirm, That the King was Virtually in the Parliament, though Personally absent at York. Nay, they went further, as there is still a plus ultra in villainous Rebellion, contest-

ing, That the supreme Power is primarily in the People, and in Kings but by a delegate and fiduciary Commission; and therefore as being inferior to the Whole, though superior to every particular, to be reclaimed by Force if they should transgress against Religion and Liberty.

But, to omit these seditious Impertinences, sufficiently refuted in the repeating of them; the King, understanding the Progress and Preparations of the Adversaries, and how they had seized his Navy, Fortresses and Magazines, being himself destitute of all Help, except such as those Generous and Loyal

Lords and Gentlemen, who followed his Fortune, did contribute; he declared *Essex* and his Adherents, to be Traytors and Rebels; and appointing the *Marquiss of Hartford*, General of his Forces, erected his Royal Standard at *Nottingham*, inviting thereby all his loving Subjects to his Assistance.

It was observed, that a Gust of Wind did at the same Time blow down the Colours, which though looked upon as Inauspicious by some, did not yet hinder, but that several Thousands repaired to them. And, his Majesty having received Money and Arms from the Queen, grew by these Supplies, and the Accession of his Friends, (most of the Lords and very many of the *Lower House* repairing to him) formidable. Insomuch, that this great Defection of the Members, amongst whom was the *Lord Keeper with the Great Seal*, as they added Life and Reputation to the King's Affairs, being for the most part Persons of whole Estates and great Abilities, so they did a little raise Apprehensions in them that remained, which appeared by their Vote and Impeachment of the Fifteenth of *June*.

The Queen, in the beginning of the Troubles, retired with her own and the *Crown-Jewels*, some whereof she had pawned for these Supplies, into *Holland*, under pretence of conducting (as is already observed) her Daughter, the *Lady Mary*, to the

Essex and his Adherents proclaimed Traytors. The King sets up his Standard at Nottingham.

The Queen proclaimed Traytor.

the Prince of Orange her Husband; for which pious, and just Fact, (tho they formerly looked upon it as a Scandal, when it was rumoured that they had a Design to accuse her) she was proclaimed Traytor, by these barbarous, and worst of Rebels. Some were of Opinion, that the Faction was not ignorant of the Conveyance of this Treasure, but connived at it, upon a Supposition, that the King, upon the Confidence of it, might be more refractory to their Demands, and consequently engage in a War against them, which they mainly desired, as the plausiblest way to ruine him.

Earl of
Southampton
prom.
Earl of
Dorset.

His Majesty, notwithstanding the Accession of his Friends and Power, desired the Ways of Peace, not War. But all his Messages and gracious Offers, though sent to them by the Principal Nobles about him, were rejected with Scorn and Insolence: For, the impetuous Faction in the House, having a great Army on Foot, and abundance of Treasure, would hearken to no Accommodation. This obliged his Majesty to intend his Safety the more, so that levying Soldiers in the Counties he passed, he daily increased, even beyond Expectation. For, having made a solemn Protestation at the head of his Men

The King's solemn Protestation at Wellington. viz. That he would defend the Protestant Religion as by Law established, The Laws of the Land, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject, his Numbers visibly augmented. Passing through Chester into Wales, having made a Paethetic Speech to the Inhabitants thereof, and gained entirely upon their Affections, naturally inclined to serve their Prince; he went thence to Shrewsbury, where the Country being assembled by his Order, he at the Head of them made this following Oration; which for its Excellency, and that it contains the Ground and the Truth of the Quarrel, I thought fit to insert here.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

IT is some Benefit to me from the Insolence and Misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of my People. I hope neither you nor I shall repent in coming hither. I will do my part that you may not; and, of you, I was confident before I came. The Residence of an Army, is not usually pleasant to any Place; and mine may carry more Fear with it, since it may be thought, robb'd and spoiled of all my own, and such Terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying of me, I must only live upon the Aid and Relief of my People. But, be not afraid. I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the Insolence, and Violence of that Army raised against me, though they have made themselves wanton even with Plenty, than you shall do by mine; and yet, I fear I cannot prevent all Disorders; I will do my best: and this I promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

and Speech
to the Gen-
try and In-
habitants
near
Shrews-
bury.

I have sent hither for a Mint. I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Lands to Sale, or Mortgage; that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you. In the meantime, I have summoned you hither, so do that for me and your selves, for the Maintenance of your Religion and the Laws of the Land, by which you enjoy all that you have; which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a Cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that which will be taken from you, by those, who pursue me with this violence. And whilst these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost Industry to destroy the Commonwealth, be you no less liberal to preserve it. Assure your selves, if it please God to bless me with Success, I shall remember the Assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are

now

now possess) be Honour and Comfort to you, that with some Charge and Trouble to your selves, you did your part to support the King, and preserve the Kingdom.

With this Speech, and the Majesty and Reverence of his Person, the People, as it were inspired, list themselves by Troops in this *Sacred Warfare*; so that the King being, in a little time, become Master of considerable, and formidable Forces, dared to provoke that Enemy whom he had hitherto avoided.

Essex goes
to his Ar-
my.

Essex was waited upon in great State by the Parliament-Members out of Town, and with quick Marches hastens to Northampton the Rendezvous of his Army, consisting of Fourteen Thousand Men, high and confident, seeing they were to combat fresh and for the most part undisciplined Soldiers. Amongst other Instructions, Essex had received a *Petition* from his Masters to be presented to the King, wherein they desire, *That his Majesty would desert his Followers, who were REBELS and TRAIT-TORS; and suffer them to be suppressed by the Earl of Essex.* But his Majesty abominating so sinful a

The King
marches to-
wards
London.

Thought, leaving Shrewsbury, marched with Six Thousand Foot, Three Thousand brave Horse, and Two Thousand Dragoons, towards London. This unexpected Motion of the King, perplexed the City, and Senate, not a little before disordered with the Success of Prince Rupert, who had broke and destroyed a Wing of their Horse near Worcester, and kill'd Sands the Colonel. Both Houses therefore, to obviate the Danger from the King's Army, and lest he should attempt the City, where it was supposed the Parliament might easily be suppress'd; exhort the City-Militia to stand upon their Guard, to watch, to raise such Fortifications as could suddenly be made, to make Batteries for their Cannon, dig Trenches, and set up Courts of

of Guard for the Souldiers, omitting nothing for their Defence against the King's feared Approach. They also sent Ten Companies to secure *Windsor*, whilst they Imprison such of their Citizens, as were suspected to Favour the King's Party. *Essex*, in the mean Time, came to *Worcester*, quitted by the *Royallists*, where he continued whilst the King passed by, without giving his Majesty any Interruption. But the Rebels followed close in his Rear, which he perceiving, turned short upon them, lest he should be enclosed betwixt the Rebels and the Rebellious City of *London*. This occasioned that memorable Battel, the first of these Unhappy Wars, which was fought in the *Vale of Red-Horse*; not absurdly called so, considering the streams of Blood which were spill'd there that Day. The Parties fought with equal Courage and Fortune, though both pretended to the Victory, which had been infallibly the King's, and the Rebellion stifled in its Infancy, if the Right Wing of our Horse had not pursued the Enemy farther than they ought to have done. But God, who was not pleased that our Sins should be expiated at a Common Rate, determined otherwise.

The *Royallists* descending *Edge-hill* in *Battalia*, *The Battel* and very Chearful, had a Sight of the Enemy, who *of Edge-* were busie in ordering their Army in the Valley Hill. below. The King viewing of them, being asked, Oct. 23. what he intended to do? answered briskly, *I ne-* 1642. *ver saw the Rebels before in a Body. I am resolved to fight them; God and all good Men assist my Righteous Cause.* Prince *Rupert* commanded the *Right Wing*; *Lieutenant General Willmot*, to whom the *Earl of Forth* was added, the *Left*; and the *Earl of Lindsey*, *General of the Field*, led the *Main Battel* on Foot, with a Pike in his Hand; and each Division had their Reserves. *Essex*, who had Quarter'd at *Keynton*,

Keynton, drew his Army into *Battalia* in the Vale, saluting, or provoking the Adversaries with Three great Shot, and as many Shouts of his whole Army. This Summons was answered by Two great Guns, and being advanced nearer, the King observed the Rebels Army to be drawn up as followeth: Two Regiments of Horse composed the Right Wing, commanded by the Two Colonels, *Balfore* and *Stapelton*, and the Lord *Fielding* had his Regiment in their Rear for a Reserve. *Essex* commanded the Battel, at first also on Foot as the adverse General; and the Left Wing, consisting of Twenty Troops of Horse, was led by Colonel *Ramsay*, a Scot. And now the Cannon began to play on both Sides, but without any considerable Execution. *Prince Rupert* charged *Ramsay* with so much Courage, that he not only forced him from his Station, but off the Field also; and the Brigade of Foot next to them, frightened with the Flight of their Horse, and surprized with the Defection of Sir *Faithful Fortescue* (who mindful of his Duty, went over with his Troops to his Majesty) threw down their Arms, Colonel *Essex*, who commanded them, retiring to the *Main Body*. But our Horse following the Chace too far, and their Reserves commanded by the *Earl of Carnarven*, and hurried with the same Violence, suffered the Victory to slip out of their Hands, by their too much eagerness to overcome. For, if they had charged their Flank, bared of their Horse, they had probably much incommoded them. *Essex* was more cautious, who sending *Fielding's* Reserve, with others under the Command of *Hurrey*, did much disturb the King's Foot, destitute by the Absence of their Horse. The Left Wing had not the same Success, for *Balfore* had forced *Willmot* to a disorderly Retreat, and breaking Two Battalions of Foot, left naked by the Flight of their Horse on that Side, opened

a passage

a passage to the King's Standard. The Foot by this were all engaged, and the Fight growing very hot, the Standard it self was seized on, Sir *Edmund Varney* that carried it being Slain; but it was recovered again by Sir *Jo. Smith*, for which generous Act he was by the King, the best judge of Merit, Knighted upon the Place, and honoured with the bearing of that Standard he had so bravely recovered. The *Earl of Lindsey* was slain there, having performed all the Parts of a great Captain; and, his Eldest Son hastning to his Assistance, was taken Prisoner. The Battel being restored by the Accession of fresh Supplies on the King's Side, and the Evening approaching, they left combating as if by consent, both Sides being weary, and the Rebels also in want of Ammunition. Both Sides therefore rallying their shatter'd Forces, drew up into *Battalia*, as at the Beginning. By this the Prince was returned, who, if he had not amused himself in that vain pursuit, and Plundering of the Enemies Carriages at *Keynton*, the War had been ended at this first Blow.

Essex was strengthened in the Field with *Colonel Hamden's* Regiment; and presently afterwards by *Colonel Hollis* his Foot, and the Lord *Willoughby's* Regiment of Horse; who meeting *Prince Rupert's* Wing in the Lanes pursuing of *Ramsay*, forced him back into the Field. Although *Essex* was more numerous by the Addition of these Three fresh Regiments, he did attempt no farther upon the King, considering also, that the Prince's Horse, of whose Bravery he had had Experience, were fresh and entire. Night being come, the King withdrew to the *Hill*, from which he had descended, where he lay all Night in his Coach with the *Prince of Wales*, (the Hopes, and future Glory of our Nation) the Camp shining with Fires.

The next Morning, the King sent off his Foot towards

*Essex re-
sires to
Warwick.*

wards *Ayno*, and having stood sometime in Battel-array with his Horse, did also follow. *Essex* lay in the Field where he had fought, and however recruited with the Accession of Three entire fresh Regiments, attempted no farther upon the *Royallists*, but retreating to the Banks of *Avon* under the protection of *Warwick-Castle*, suffered the King to march whither he pleased. The slain on both Sides, were at first believed to amount to near Five Thousand, though the Country, by a stricter Enquiry, affirmed, they had not buried above a Thousand; which is the more probable, seeing Slaughters of this Kind are ordinarily magnified. On the King's Side, the *General* bravely performing the Duty of his Place, as also that of a private Soldier, was slain, together with the Lord *Aubigny*, and Sir *Edward Varney*, who died in this Field of Honour. The *Rebels* lost Colonel *Essex*, (who signalized himself by his Bravery) Lieutenant Colonel *Ramsfey*, and the Lord *St. Johns*, who being taken died of his Wounds. Both *Parties* attributed to themselves the Honour of the Victory. The *Essexians* said, That the Field and Dead were left to their Disposal. The *Royallists* likewise gloried, that they had done what they designed, by removing the Obstacles that hindred their March towards *London*; adding farther, That the *Rebels* however strengthened with Three Regiments, durst not oppose themselves to the King's Passage, the next Day. And truly, though the King's Forces were much shattered, they grew accidentally more formidable than before, to whom it proved no small Victory, considering his Discouragements not to have been vanquished: For, many Eminent Persons, who stood at gaze before, seeing the Party equal, ranged themselves now without difficulty on the better Side, where their Duty and Inclination invited them.

*The King
continues
his March.*

How

How fair this Enemy behaved themselves in other things, may be guessed by Letters taken amongst their Baggage in the Battel, discovering the Treasons of one *Blake* in the King's Army, who daily gave Intelligence of what passed, to the Rebels, and particularly in what part of the Army the King fought, that they might direct their Bullets with more Certitude at so illustrious a Mark. Perhaps thus designing, as they had Religiously affirmed, to defend the King's Person. But the unhappy Contriver of this nefarious Treason, expiated his Crime with his Life, being hanged on the next Tree.

*Blake's
Treason &
Punishment.*

I cannot omit what is affirmed of *Cromwell*, then a Captain of Horse in *Essex* his Regiment, who absented himself from the Fight. He had observed from the Top of a Steeple in the Neighbourhood, the Disorder of the Right Wing of their Army, wherewith being greatly terrified, he slipp'd down for haste by the Bell-Rope, and taking Horse, ran away with his Troop; for which Crime he had been cashier'd, had it not been for the powerful Mediation of his Friends. I mention this of this so famous Chieftain in the following Wars, to shew, how the Temperature of Body and Mind may, by Use and Ambition, be entirely altered.

*O. Crom-
well's first
Adventure.*

The King continued his March, having the Town and Castle of *Banbury* surrendred to him in his Way; the Two Regiments of Foot, and Troop of Horse which Garrisoned there, putting themselves under his Majesty's Protection and Pay. *Broughton*, the Lord *Sey*'s House, was also delivered; and now, the King, with many Prisoners and Captive-Colonels, entred triumphantly into *Oxford*. But he did not stay long there; for, *Prince Rupert*, with a great Body of Horse, swiftly moving up and down the Country, infested all the Ways and Avenues to *London* on that Side; and the King following

*The King
takes Ban-
bury-Cas-
tle, &c.*

*Enters tri-
umphantly
into Ox-
ford.*

Hollis and Hamden's Regiments, with part of the Lord Brookes's, routed at Brentford, following with the rest of the Army, assaulted and forced *Brentford*, breaking Two of the Enemies best Regiments there, taking Eleven Colours and Thirteen Pieces of Ordnance ; which were sunk, by reason of their Encumbrance, in the adjoining River. Many were slain and drowned, and Five Hundred were made Prisoners ; but the King gave these their Liberty, upon their Engagement, never to bear Arms again against his Majesty. But, the Parliament, loth to lose so many brave Men, ordered *Stephen Marshall*, a fierce Presbyterian Minister, to absolve them from the Religion of their Oaths, which he did, with a more than Pontifical Authority. The Consternation this blow occasioned, filled the City with Terror. They shut their Shops immediately upon the News, and mustering their Trained-Bands and Auxiliaries, joining with such Forces of their Army, as were nearest ;

Essex at
Turnham-
Green.

Essex drew them all up in *Battalia* upon *Turnham-Green*. Three Thousand who lay at *Kingston* ; were also sent for ; for which their General was after blamed, for abandoning so considerable a Post, which might have distressed the King, if made good : For, his Majesty having Intelligence of the numerous Strength of the Rebels, and indeed wanting Bullets for a Skirmish ; lest he might be surrounded by them, retreating over *Kingston-Bridge*, abandoned, as is said, broke it down after him ; and having garrisoned *Redding* in his Way, returned triumphantly to *Oxford*.

Whilst these Things were a-doing, the City and the *Two Houses* apprehending the King's Advance, had sent for *Essex*, to whom they had given Five Thousand Pound as an Acknowledgment for his great Services at *Edge-hill*, to hasten to their Succour. But, the King being gone, the Citizens returned to their Labours, and the *Essexians* to recruit their shatter'd Regiments with new Levies.

The

The King being come to *Oxford*, and finding it a Place very commodious to make his head Quarters of, it being in the Heart of the Kingdom, and not far from *London*; commanded it to be Fortified (which the Rebels had seasonably omitted to do) and surrounded with a deep Moat and Bulworks, according to the Modern Practice, which was done with all imaginable Diligence and Haste.

The King returns to Oxford, and Fortifies it.

In the mean Time, the War was carried on in other Provinces of the Kingdom, with no less Courage and Vigour. Not only the Towns and Counties, but most of the best Families divided in their Opinions; many engaging according to their Interest, but most according as they affected the Parties. But, the various Battels, Fights, Velitations, Sieges, and the like, as they deserve no Triumphs, happening in a Civil War, so they merit a better Description, than is yet extant; for, they were for the most part eminent for Courage, famous for Conduct, and by so much the more severe in their Actings, by how much the Parties were the more excited with the Opinion of doing well. I do not therefore design to relate the whole War, as being above my Force. I will leave that Province to the Writers of Histories, and content my self to describe the Chief Actions of it, and those Things I my self for the most part saw, but with designed Brevity.

Whilst the Armies were in their Winter-Quarters, they were not so idle, but that many Horse-Skirmishes, Excursions, Velitations, Beating-up of Quarters, and the like Feats of War, were daily practised, and that with various Success. The King's Affairs had hitherto succeeded well, considering his Circumstances, although he never received any Advantage without Sorrow; seeing

Several
fruitless
Attempts
for Peace.

it was gained from his Subjects. And hence it was, that as often as his Arms were Successful, his Thoughts were intent upon Peace, pressing and inviting the *obdurate Faction* to it, by reiterated Letters and Messages, though to no purpose; for, those *Puritans* relying upon the Assistance of their Brethren, the *Scots*, were wholly averse from it. They had indeed formerly sent Propositions to the King at *York*, but more severe than any Denunciation of War: The Chief were, *That the Chief Officers of State, should be of their naming; and the Militia by Sea and Land, at their disposing. That the King should disband his Forces, abandon his Friends, and not dispose of his Children, but by their Consent.*

His Majesty did not refuse an Answer to these Demands (although they seemed rather Impositions of Slavery, than Peace) which he sent by the *Marquis of Hartford*, and the *Earl of Southampton*, Two Eminent Noble-men, with Command to deliver it in the *House of Lords*. But, being refused Admission; they returned without having effected any thing. Neither were the Mediation of the *French* and *Dutch*, though offered by both, (how sincerely I know not) accepted by the Houses; who answered, *That they could not suffer, that any Foreign Prince, or State, especially the French, should interpose in their Affairs.* And, to shew how little they valued the *Monsieur*, his Coach was stopped and searched for Letters, as he was passing to *Oxford*; his Complaint of that Insolence, being slurred over with a faint Excuse. The Parliament would admit of the *Scots*, their Brethren in Iniquity; whom the King did justly reject, as equally *Rebels*.

They had indeed formerly, after the Battel of *Edge-hill*, upon the King's Advance with his victorious Army towards *London*, apprehending his Approach, sent Two Lords and Three Commoners to stay

stay him, under Pretence of treating ; which, when they could not, they seemed, in Revenge upon his Majesty's Retreat, to resolve to treat no more ; though afterwards, upon the Instance of some of the more moderate amongst them, they again sent Twelve Delegates to *Oxford*, with Demands rather than Propositions ; the Chief whereof were, *That his Majesty should Disband his Army; Return to the Parliament ; Abolish Episcopacy ; Abandon the Militia to their Disposal, &c.* The King on the other Side, demanded, *His Revenues, his Magazines, his Cities, Navies, Fortresses, &c.* and, *that whatever they had done contrary to Law, should be Abrogated.* But nothing was concluded, save that the Commissioners were forced to confess, *That the King* (for, they were commanded by their Masters to treat with no Body but his Majesty alone) *did excel in Sharpness of Wit, in most accurate Understanding of Things, and in Quickness of Judgment.* That he also heard the contrary Objections and Arguments, with unimitable Patience : Unhappy only in this, That he attributed more to the Advice of others, than his own Opinion.

Jan. 30.
1642.

*The King's
rare Wis-
dom.*

The Parliament had long since seized upon all the King's Castles, Forts, Arms, Governments, Ships, Revenues, Treasure and Ornament. But, to shew their Intentions for Peace, they Denounce War with an Oath, declaring, *They will not lay down Arms as long as the King had an Army, under whose Protection, Papists [that is, Royallists] and such who were obnoxious to the Law, might find Sanctuary.* Nay, they came to that pitch of Boldness, that they presumed by their own Authority, to summon a *National-Synod.* Where, rejecting the ancient Forms of Councils, they impower this, composed of *Presbyterian* and *Independant Clero-Layicks*, to establish Religion, and the Forms for Government in the Church. They also falsified

the *Great Seal*, by making another instead of that which was with the King, and use it publickly. Thus, this Pacifick Tribe seeks for Peace, and immolates to injured Majesty, by rendering, as much as in them lay, the Differences irreconcilable. But, this *Counterfeiting of the Great Seal*, was voted Treason by the Parliament at Oxford some time after.

The Earl
of New-
castle in
the North,

During these Traverses, the *Earl of Newcastle* raised an Army in the North, to whom the *Earl of Cumberland* joined himself. On the other Side, the Two *Fairfaxes*, Father and Son, were for the Parliament. The first material Encounter they had, was at *Tadcaster*, where the Rebels were beaten, the Royallists having forced them out of Town; after which they also took *Bradford*. But the *Fairfaxes* being afterwards recruited, they took *Leeds*; and Colonel *Chobmley* and *Boymton*, routed and took Colonel *Slingsby* at *Gisbure*. The Younger *Fairfax* gained also a notable Victory at *Wakefield*, against part of *Newcastle's* Army; but he did not enjoy the Sweets of it long; for, his Forces were afterwards quite broken by the *Marquis's*, who over-spreading the Country with his Power, and having received great Stores of Arms, Cannon, and other Military Utensils, with the Colonels *Goring* and *King* from *Holland*, drove the Rebels quite out of the Field, and shut up the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Remnants in *Hull*; where he besieged him. This was a fatal Oversight; for, if he had carried the War into the associated Eastern Counties, humanely spoke, he had not only added those Rich Provinces to his Victories, but by intercepting the Contributions of Money and Men, which those Rich Countries perpetually furnished the Rebels with, put an End to the War it self, and that without Blood.

Victorious;

Besegeth
Hull.

Early

Early in the *Spring*, the Queen landed at *Burlington*, with many Officers and Commanders of Note, as also great Stores of Arms and Provisions for War. In this Place, and in her Quarters, her Majesty underwent no less hazard than at Sea: for, an *English Man of War* coming then into the Bay, fired into the Town with so much Fury, that she was forced to abandon her Lodging, and seek for shelter behind the Hedges. But, being received magnificently by *Newcastle*, and with Honours due to so great a Princess, she was attended by him to *York*; into which City she entered in Triumph, her self being the most pompous part of the Show.

The Queen.
Lands at
Burlington.

Goes to
York.

The *Earl of Montross*, eminent for his Youth and Nobility, and of high Esteem in his Country; having deserted the *Covenanters*, because he found them designing to Ruine the Church and Monarchy, came, accompanied with the *Lord Ogelby* and One hundred and Twenty Horse, to wait upon the Queen at *York*; where he informed her Majesty, of the *Covenanters* Preparations in *Scotland*, and, that they would in a very little Time, Invade *England* with a great Army. *Hamilton* came thither also to salute the Queen, and with his known Arts refuting *Montross's* Assertions, prayed her to give no Credit to One so Young and Vain: which she unhappily inclined to. *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, Governour of *Scarborough*, with Three hundred Men, came also in at the same Time, returning to his Obedience to his Sovereign. Which the Two *Hothams* seemed also to attempt; though unfortunately; so dangerous *Rebellion* is, that it often Ruines those who would return to their Duty again.

The *Marquiss of Hartford* having Command of the *Western Countries*, and assisted by the Lord *Pawlet*, *Sir Ralph Hopton*, *Sir Bevil Greenville*, *Sir*

E 4

John

Hopton
defeats the
Rebels at
Stratton;

Fights
Waller at
Land-
downe.

John Stowell, and others, all eminent for Courage and Loyalty, performed many great Actions. On the other Side, *Major General Chudley*, and the *Earl of Stamford* were very Active. But *Hopton*, not to be named without an Epithet of Honour, harassed these in several Encounters. He routed *Chudley* at *Lanceston*, beat him at *Chafford*, and defeated both him and *Stamford* in a great Fight at *Stratton*. He took here One thousand and Seven hundred Prisoners, besides many slain, Thirteen Brass Cannon, Seventy Barrels of Powder, &c. This Victory restored the Neighbouring Provinces to their Duty to the King; and *Hopton* himself, for his eminent Services, was created *Baron of Stratton*, where he had fought so bravely. The Rebel-Chieftains fled to *Exeter*, where they were besieged, and forced afterwards to surrender to *Prince Maurice*. *Hopton*, after his Victory, marched into *Somersetshire*, encountering Sir *William Waller*, a famed Champion of the Rebellion, at *Landdowne* near *Bath*. The Fight was brave, contested with equal Valour and Obstinateness, and continued till late in the Night. The Enemy at length drew off into the Town, leaving lighted Matches in the Hedges, and Walls (to amuse the *Royallists*) behind them. The Enemies greatest Loss was in their Foot; and ours, in that of the Noble Sir *Bevil Greenville*, who with a Stand of Pikes, had sustained the reiterated Charges of the *Roundheads*, and repelled them. He was a Person of no less Loyalty than Courage, which made him equally lamented by the Brave, as well as the Good. The Rebels Loss was greater than ours, as well in Officers as Souldiers, though abundantly compensated by the Death of the said *Greenville*, and the blowing up of our Powder; fired, as was believed, by One of the Prisoners. The *General* himself was much endangered, being hurt by the Flame of it; the which, together with the.

the Want it occasioned, obliged him to shut himself up in the *Devizes*, until he could be recruited with new Stores. *Waller*, intent upon Opportunities, followed him close, and block'd him up in the said Town, where they were forced to use their *Bed-cords* for want of *Match*. But, the Siege lasted not long ; for, the King, admonish'd by the Danger these brave Men were in, sent the *Lord Willmott*, to whom was joined *Prince Maurice*, the *Earl of Carnarvon*, and the *Lord Byron*, excellent Persons all, with Fifteen hundred Horse to their Relief. Being advanced near the Town, the Horse were drawn up upon *Roundway-Downe*, in One entire Line, save that a *Forlorn-Hope* advancing before the *Body*, encountred and beat another of theirs up to their Army, which stood in *Battalia* upon the Hill. A Valley divided the Two Armies, which, by reason the Enemy kept their Ground, and the Advantages of the Height they stood upon, we were obliged to pass; which was done with Resolution, notwithstanding the continual Discharges of the adverse Cannon, and in very close Order ; and charging their Horse, most of them being *Curiaffiers*, we bore them before us, broke and entirely routed them. We had only Two small Field-Pieces, which were also Discharged but once from a high Hill upon our Left Hand, being guarded by a few Dragoons, to give Notice to the Town of the Approach of their Relief. The Enemies Foot, notwithstanding the Flight of their Horse, stood firm ; nor would be broken, until they perceived our Foot marching out of Town, who advanced but slowly for fear of Ambushes ; and then they threw down their Arms, and dispersed, but to little purpose, being well nigh all kill'd or taken. There were Eight hundred slain, Two thousand taken, Four Brass Pieces of Ordnance, with all their Ammunition, and

Battel of Roundway-Downe,
July 13.
1643.

and great Store of Provisions; besides Eight and Twenty Foot Colours, and Nine Cornets of Horse. The Loss on the King's Side was very small, except that about Thirty young Gentlemen, most Volunteers, (whereof the Relater, being sorely wounded in the Head and Right Hand was one) being too far engaged in the Pursuit, were taken, and carried Prisoners to *Bristol*, from whence they in a little time were relieved; for, that City being ill defended, was surrendred by *Colonel Fines*, the Governour, to the conquering Army; for which Act, as favouring of Pusillanimity, he was tried by a *Court-Martial*. But he had approved himself Valorous against the Unfortunate; having cruelly hanged and murdered *Robert Yeamans*, and *George Bouchier*, Two prime Citizens, and eminent for their Loyalty, upon Pretence of their Designing to deliver the City to *Prince Rupert*; notwithstanding the King's and the King's General, the *Earl of Forth's* Letters, Admonitions, and Menacing to the contrary.

Waller and *Hazlerigg* fled to *Bristol*, but apprehending a Siege, went thence to *London* to recruit; and the Citizens, out of the high Opinion they had of *Waller*, easily consented to supply him. At the same time of the *Bristol*-plot, there was another Conspiracy discovered at *London*. *Mr. Waller*, by his ingenious Confession, and the rare Eloquence of Ten thousand Pounds, saved his Life. *Chaloner* and *Tompkins*, more loyal, and deserving a better Fate, were hanged before their own Doors.

The King's Forces were very successful also in other Places, though the Victory gained at *Hopton-Heath*, where *Gell* and *Brereton*, Two of the Rebels Champions, lost their Cannon and the Day, was very dear; for it cost no less than the Life of the most Noble *Earl of Northampton*, who being unhappily fallen from his Horse, amongst Coney-Parrows, was barbarously murdered. After this,

Prince

Yeaman
and Bouchier
murdered at
Bristol.

Chaloner
and Tom-
kins at
London.

Hopton-
Heath
Fight.

Prince Rupert joining his Forces with these, thus constituted, having forced *Burmigham*, a very Receptacle of Sedition, though with the Loss of the old Earl of *Denbigh*, took *Leitchfield-Close*. The Lord *Brookes*, a fierce Zealot of the Party against *Bishops*, in the attempting of it before, upon his Advance to it, had inauspiciously implored a Sign from Heaven, of the Divine Approbation of his Design; for, whilst he was ordering his Battery, though compleatly armed, a Bullet glancing near him, shot him into the Eye and Brain, upon *St. Chad's-Day*, the Patron of that Cathedral. Some time after, *Essex* having recruited his Army, besieged *Reading*; and having repelled the *Cavaliers* designed for its Relief, at *Causum-Bridge*, had it surrendered to him by *Fielding* the *Lieutenant Governor*; *Sir Arthur Aston*, who commanded in Chief, being fore hurt. They were startled at *Oxford* at this Surrender; and there wanted not them, who blamed *Essex*, for not moving that way with his Forces now victorious. But others again excused him, fancying that he designed to put an End to the War by a Peace, not a Conquest. *Taunton* and *Bridgwater* fell likewise into the Rebels Hands. On the other side, Prince Rupert beat the Round-heads at *Chalgrave Field*, where many of them of Note, were kill'd and taken Prisoners. Colonel *Hambden* (one of the Five Members who commanded) was slain in that very Field, where he first rendezvouz'd his Men against his Sovereign.

The Lord
Brooke
kill'd at
Leitchfield.

Very many other Fights and Skirmishes happened with various Success, in the several Counties of the Kingdom; which, to avoid Prolixness, I have designedly omitted, or but slightly mentioned, contenting my self to be particular in those only, which seemed decisive as to the Fate of the Kingdom.

The Queen having raised an Army in *Yorkshire*,
and

The Queen
meets the
King at
Edge-hill.

and the neighbouring-Counties, leaving a considerable Force with Sir *Charles Cavendish* for the Defence of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*, marched with the rest, consisting of about Four Thousand Men, Six Field-pieces and Two Mortars, towards the King, whom she met at *Edge-hill*; not more famous for the Battel fought there, than for this Royal Congress. The Joy after so long an Absence was very great, as may be justly presumed, since the Passions of Affection and Esteem never appeared more eminent, than in this *Pair-Royal of Lovers*. And now, with joined Forces and Desires, they marched towards *Oxford*.

After the destroying of Sir *William Waller's* Army at the *Devizes*, and the taking of *Bristol*, the King was absolute Master of the Field. The *Marquis* of *Newcastle* having also ruined *Fairfax* at *Bramham-Moor*, and subdued the whole North, having shut up the Remains of the Enemy in a few Garrisons, was likewise at Liberty to act what he pleased. But the King, contrary to his own Sentiments and Advice, being overborn by his *Council of War*, or rather betrayed by his *Fate*, and the Perfidy of some pretended Friends, omitting *London* the Head of the *Rebellion*, miserably squandered that Time which was irrecoverable, in the *unfortunate Siege* of *Gloicester*, whilst *Newcastle* amused himself about *Hull*. Whereas, if they had joined their Forces, the Rebels having no Army then in the Field to oppose them, he might not only have routed the *pretended Parliament*, who were already upon the Point to dislodge, but have given Law to that proud City, the Source of the *Rebellion* and his *Misfortunes*. But, it seemed otherwise good to *Providence*; and, the *Two Houses*, who were in a desponding Condition, raised with this unhopd for Opportunity, recruited their empty Regiments well nigh ruined with Sickness and Sediton, with
all

all imaginable Speed; and, alluring to their Assistance the City-Forces, they not only relieved *Glocester*, but raised their declining Cause to a Balance with the Kings. But of these in Order.

Essex mustered his Army, the *Members of both Houses* being present, upon *Hounsley-Heath*, which did not exceed Ten Thousand Men; too weak for the Expedition they were designed: but being much reinforced by the City-Auxiliaries, and Trained-Bands, marched that Night to *Colebroke*, and so forward. *Glocester*, seated upon the Banks of *Severne*, was, with the Addition of some Works, and the River, esteemed strong. *Colonel Massey*, an active and vigilant Commander, was Governour, strengthened with Two Regiments of Foot and Two Troops of Horse: who, however vigorously attacked, did no less vigorously oppose Force to Force, Sallies to Assaults, and Countermine to the Mines from without. But, in truth, neither understood the Methods of besieging, or defending as yet; that Part of War being but in its Infancy amongst us. But, we must allow the Defensive to have carried it here, seeing they held it out, until the Arrival of their Succours. The King being advertized of the Enemies Advance, sent *Prince Rupert* with all the Horse to retard their March; which he did, by continual Excursions, Velitations and forcing of Posts and Quarters. At *Stow in the Wowld*, the *Prince* drawing all his Horse in one continued Line, upon the Side of the Hill, made a very great Appearance. On the contrary, the Rebels march up the Ascent in *Battalia*. Lieutenant *Colonel Bayly*, with the City-Regiments, were in the *Left-Wing*; and, *Colonel Harvey*, with his Regiment of Horse and Two of Foot, being some-what advanced in the *Right*, the *Prince* sent a strong Party, with orders to endeavour to get betwixt them and Home; which being perceived, Three Regiments more

Essex marches to the Relief of Glocester.

more were presently sent to his Assistance; the which, with the Thunder of their Cannon, obliged the *Royallists* after some skirmishing to retire to their Body, which being composed only of Horse, did also give way to this great Army which advanced upon them.

The King preferring the Blessings of Peace, before the Triumphs of Victory, sent a Trumpeter with Propositions to *Effex*, who answered crudely enough, *That he had Orders to relieve Gloucester, not to treat*; which he also did, the King rising from the Siege at his Approach, and passing the River, with a Resolution to fight the Rebels upon their return. And this seemed another Omission; for, if the King had fought them before they reached the Town, he had probably either beaten them, or impeded their Progress; both, or either of which, would infallibly have obliged them to surrender. *Effex* having relieved the Town, his next Care was to preserve his Army, especially the *Londoners*, the Chief Strength of it; which he in a great Manner did, by his Surprizal of *Cirencester*, where he found Store of Provisions, which he much wanted. The *Royallists* obstructing the Enemy in their Return, upon every Occasion, fell into their Rear upon *Anburne Chase* with all their Horse, forcing it up to their Main Body. They charged them a second Time, with the same Success; but having no Foot, by the Advance of their Enemies and the Night, they retreated with little loss, save that of *de Vieuville*, a *French Marquis*. The Rebels lost many, as well slain as taken.

The next Morning, the King's Army being drawn up near *Newbury*, having the River on their Right-Hand, expected the Rebels there. There was a little Hill Five Hundred Paces from the Town, which the *Cavaliers* had possessed and fortified with Guns. *Effex* perceiving it, and having no other way

*The Siege
of Gloucester
raised.*

*The Battle
of Newbury.*

way to pass, he himself with his own Regiment and *C. Barclay*, and *Holborne's* Brigades, attacks it bravely, being as bravely received by the *Royallists*. *Stapleton*, with his own Regiment and that of the General's Guards, charging the *Earl of Carnarven*, was repulsed, but the *Earl* pursuing too far, was kill'd by a Shot, in the Head of his own Men; a Person no less remarkable for his Fortitude, and Fidelity to the King, than for the Nobleness of his Extraction. *Prince Rupert* valiantly charging the *Right-Wing* of the Rebels, who were rallied again, did again disorder them, driving them to the Entry of the Lane by which they were come. But, the *Cavaliers* were forced to make as much hast back, having been saluted with a Volley of Shot from the adverse Foot, posted there, and not without loss. The King's *Right* and the Enemies *Left-Wing*, being hindred by Hedges and Inclosures, fought only by small Parties and light Skirmishes. Nor had the Foot, though they fought stoutly, any signal Advantages of each other; the *Earl of Brentford*, on the King's side, and *Major General Skippon* on the Rebels, behaving themselves with equal Courage and Vigilancy. The *Royallists* had taken some Field-pieces, which they were forced to quit again with loss. The approaching Evening put an end to this bloody Contest, and the King's Army rallied and drew up again, as at first, in the Field where they had fought, with design to renew the Combat in the Morning; which yet they did not, being content to send *Major General Harvey*, who had lately deserted them, with a strong Party of Horse and Foot to fall in their Rear. They had also stood in Arms all Night, not retreating before the Morning, at which time they were close followed, and charged; their Rear-guard, commanded by *Stapleton*, being forced up to their Foot with considerable Loss. There were slain on the King's Side many

many eminent Persons, as the *Earls of Carnarvon* and *Sunderland*, the *Wise Lord Faulkland* and *Colonel Morgan*, with others. The Rebels also lost many, but of no great Quality, being most Plebeians. And this was the End of the famous Expedition of *Glocester*, wherein *Essex* and his Party had gained much Honour, if they had not fought against their King. Nor did the *Royallists* behave themselves less Valiantly, though more Commendably, as having the Better Cause.

The Rebel
Parliament
invite the
Scots to
their Aid.

The Men at *Westminster*, being heightned with this Appearance of Success (which carried more Noise with it, by reason of the Loss on the King's Side, of so many *Noblemen*, whereas they had but few to expose) they yet prudently considering the Equality of the Balance, not over-confident in their own Strength, invited the *Presbyterian Scots* to their Assistance; and to oblige them the more strictly to their Party, being not to be gained by the ordinary Stipend of Mercenaries, they mutually oblige themselves by a *Solemn League and Covenant*, contrary to all Laws, Humane and Divine, to extirpate *Episcopacy* and the *Liturgy*, and to obtrude in their Places, the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Discipline*, built upon the Basis of Rebellion and Tumult. Moreover, *Archbishop Laud*, retained hitherto in the nauseousness of a Prison, was now, as *Stratford* had been formerly, to be immolated a Sacrifice to the Malice of these Hirelings; and, the Revenues of the Church, to be divided amongst these *Sacrilegious Confederates*, as will shortly appear. This best of Princes, might have expected better Things from the Scots, as being his Countrymen as well as Subjects. Nay, he had heaped so many Graces upon them upon his being in Scotland, having refused them nothing they had demanded of him; that their Parliament, taken with so great Indulgence, had decreed, *That if any whosoever should*

should levy Men, or take up Arms upon any Pretence whatsoever, except by the King's Express Order; he should be guilty of damnable Treason. Nay, they profess farther upon Oath, That in Case the King's Person should at any Time be endangered, they would defend his Majesty's Cause and Honour, as they were in Duty bound, with their Lives and Fortunes. When the King was at Edinbrough, he had advanced Two very Ingrateful Persons to great Honour. Lesley he made an Earl, and Hamilton a Duke. The First extasied with the Greatness of the Favour, protested solemnly (perjured Wretch!) That he would never bear Arms more against his Majesty. And the other, if we may believe publick Fame, betrayed all his Master's Counsels to his Enemies; but perfidiously concealed Theirs, though a Privy Counsellor, from his King.

It may not be unworthy Notice to declare, what farther happened at the same Time. There was a great Noise rumour'd, of a Conspiracy against the Lives of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, with some others, contrived by the *Earl of Crawford* and his Party. This Report, however fictitious and imaginary, gained such Credit, that the King himself was not obscurely reflected upon: Which his righteous Soul took in such Scorn, that he could not forbear to tell *Hamilton* (when, as the Custom is, he delivered him his Patent in Parliament, whereby he was created Duke) That he did not deserve to be suspected by him, who could not choose but remember, That at that very Time when he was accused to him of High-Treason, he suffered him that very Night to lie in his Bed-Chamber. After this, the Wars growing Hot in England, the King advertised his Privy-Council in That Kingdom, of the State of his Affairs in This, demanding their Advice, and Aid; who returned an Answer full of Duty and Loyalty, but with a Resolution to perform nothing they had

promised:

*A pretended
Conspiracy
against Ha-
milton and
Argyle.*

promised: For, the Business being known at *London*, they of *Westminster* caressed their lately acknowledged *Brethren* so effectually, that they did not scruple to declare, *That they would act nothing against the Parliament, no not in Favour of the King himself; which they also, perfidiously faithful, did perform.* Nay more, these Ungrateful Wretches, forgetful of their Honour and Allegiance, invade *England* with a Great Army, causing that Fatal Change in the Kings Affairs, till then very Prosperous, that cost him his Life, and them their Liberty, to those whose Encrease they had so obstinately pursued.

The King perceiving how furiously the prevailing *Faction* did drive on, and that it daily received Strength from *London*, resolved to remove the Parliament to *Oxford*, which he did by publick Proclamation; where most of the *Lords*, and amongst them, the *Earls* of *Holland*, *Bedford* and *Clare* (who were lately come in to the King, tho' they left him again with the same Levity) and near Two Hundred of the *Commons*, met at a Day. The rest, in Scorn of their Duty, continued at *Westminster*, until they were outed thence by their own Servants. The first Business that the Parliament at *Oxford* undertook, was, to admonish the *Scots* by Letters, *That they should not hostily Invade England, it being no less than High-Treason to attempt it.* But this, as also the King's Dissuatory Message, was to no purpose. Nay, they were so rudely impudent, that they caused a Letter writ to them, and Signed by all the *Lords*, to be Burnt by the Hands of the Common-Hangman.

The Scots
enter En-
gland,
March 1.

They therefore Invade *England*, the Year being far spent, with Eighteen thousand Foot, Two thousand Horse, and One thousand Dragoons; and, passing the River *Tine*, send their Declaration before them, pretending, *That they designed,*
nothing,

nothing, but the Reformation of Religion, the King's Honour, and the Peace of the Kingdom.

The King extremely surprized with this Invasion, having been still kept up with a Belief, that the Scots would not enter *England*; finding himself deluded, committed Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother *Lanerick* (who were newly posted out of *Scotland*, as afrighted with the News they brought) to Prison. The former being accused of several other Treasons also, was afterwards sent to *Pen-Hamilton dennis-Castle*: His Brother escaped to *London*, and sent to *Pen-Hamilton dennis-Castle*, so to *Scotland*, which he lately abandoned as unsafe; whereof he was *Secretary*, though the Court-Signet had been taken from him.

But, to march with the Scots into *England*, where the *Parliament* had long since seized upon the King's Castles, Forts, Arms, Ships, Revenues, Treasure, Ornaments, &c. they now, to Complement their new Allies, urge their *impious Covenant* so far, that the Subject must either forfeit his Faith or Estate. But *Religion* was always pretended, and all their Undertakings veiled with the Masque of *Godliness*. They divest her of her Ornaments, under pretence of dressing her; and, with Impious Hands, prophane her Monuments, transferred to us from our pious Ancestors, who sealed the Faith we own with their Bloods. Their zealous Fury extends to our Churches, destroying whatever was in them, either Reverend for Antiquity, or to be Esteemed for its Artifice. They turn Temples into Stables, and the House of Prayer into a Den of sacrilegious Impurity. Amongst other Acts and Triumphs of their Reformation, they demolished *Charing* and *Cheapside-Crosses*, eminent for their Beauty and the Artificiousness of their Structure; converting the Superstitious Metals they were composed of, to their own Use.

It may not be from the Purpose, to relate a Story of ludicrous as well as impudent Boldness.

H. Martin
Inspects the
Regalia.

Harry Martin, who had said in the *House*, *That the Felicity of the Nation, did not consist in the Family of the Stuarts*, (for which he then, to palliate the Impudence; had been confined) was ordered to Survey the *Regalia*; which he did: for, breaking the Iron Chest wherein they were kept, he took out of it the Crown, Sceptre, and Vestments belonging to *Edward the Confessor*, wherewith the Kings of *England* had since been always inaugurated; saying, though falsely, with a scornful Laughter, *There will be no more Use of these Trifles*. With the same unmannerly Impudence, he caused *George Withers*, a pitiful Poet, then present, to be dressed in those *Royal Vestments*; who being also Crowned, walked at first stately up and down, but afterward putting himself into a Thousand Mimick Postures, endeavoured to expose those Sacred Ornaments, to the Contempt and Derision of the By-standers. These afterwards, as also the Robes and Plate belonging to the *Church*, were sold. Nor could they be perswaded, to leave one Silver Cup, to be used at the *Communion*, affirming, with barbarous Sacrilege, *That a wooden Dish would serve the Turn*. Nor is it any wonder, That these *Sacred Utensils* were thus abused, when the *Sacred Function of Ministers*, was so inhumanely treated; of whom a Hundred and Fifteen in the City and Suburbs were, for their Fidelity to the King, according to the Laws, and their Zeal to the Established Religion, according to their Conscience, together with their Wives and Children, Ejected, Plundered, Spoiled, and barbarously Consumed in Prison, in Exile, and with Hunger. To relate all the Inhumanities committed against the Loyal Orthodox Clergy, their Usurpations upon the Revenues of the Church, and their Dilapidations and Ruines of the *Houses of God* in the Land, would require a vast Volume, and might deservedly employ a very good Pen; which

The barbarous
Usage
of the Loyal
Clergy.

which I purposely omit, as wanting Ability and Leisure for so Great a Work.

The *Scots* being entred into *England*, the *Marquess* of *Newcastle* (for he had been made such, for his Eminent Services) marched with his Army to oppose the Progress of this new Enemy. He had kept them at Bay for some time, by frequent Encounters and Velitations, till the taking of *Selbie* by *Fairfax*, and *Lincoln* by the *Earl of Manchester*. Both which, especially the Latter, being very numerous, moved after him. So that, *Newcastle* unable to fight them all at once, and lest he might be inclosed by their Three Armies, retreated to *Tork*, where he was surrounded and besieged by their United Forces.

The King being very solicitous for the Safety of so good a Man, and so good an Army, sent *Prince Rupert* with great Forces to their Relief. The *Prince* had some Time before relieved *Newark*, having slain a Thousand of *Sir John Meldrum's* Men, who besieged it, and reduced the Rest to a Necessity (though Six Thousand strong) of parting with their Arms and Baggage. High with these Successes, he marches toward the *North*, and taking *Stopford* and *Liverpoole* in his Way, relieved the *Illustrious Countess* of *Derby* in *Lathame House*, where she had been long Besieged. *Bolton* daring to defend it self, was at the second Assault forced; Eight Hundred of the Garrison, most Townsmen, being slain. For, relying upon their Numbers and Works, they had not only abused the *Prince* by scurrilous Language, but hang'd One of his Captains whom they had taken, which occasioned this not undeserved Severity. After this, continuing his March, he came without any Opposition to *Tork*, where he joined with *Newcastle*, the Enemy having raised the Siege upon his Approach, with a Resolution to engage them. The Besieged, upon

the *Rebels* drawing off, did some considerable Execution upon their Rear, but being secure, had no mind to try the Hazard of the War any farther. They had been wearied with a long Siege of Nine Weeks; and, supposing that their Deliverers were also tired with their long March, thought it better to leave the Enemy to their own Dissentions (for, their *Generals* did not well agree about the Command in Chief) than to occasion their Uniting, by so hazardous an Adventure. But, the *Prince* fatally resolved, and not thinking he had done enough in relieving the City, if he did not also beat the *Scots*, the only Obstacle to the King's Victories, marched after the *Rebels*, and found them drawn up in a Corn-field on the South side of *Marston-Moor*, Four Miles from *York*. The Enemies Three Armies, contracted in One, was commanded by the Three *Generals*.

The Battel
of Mar-
ston-Moor
July 2.

The Two *Fairfaxes*, Father and Son, had the *Right-Wing*; *Manchester* the *Left*, and *Leven* the *Main Body*, consisting all of *Scots*; and each Division had his Auxiliaries and Reserves. The *Prince* observing the Adversaries Order, ranged also his Army in *Battalia*; and, reserving to himself the *Left-Wing*, gave *Newcastle* the *Right*, entrusting the Command of the *Main Battel* to *Goring*, *Lucas*, and *Porter*. And, as no Field since these Unhappy Wars, did produce so Great Armies, so none had been fought with greater Valour. *Rupert* charg'd the *Fairfaxes* with so much Resolution, that he broke them, and the *Scots* their Reserves; but, pursued them (to his own Ruine) too far. Our *Main Battel* did also repel the *Scots*. But, Affairs went otherwise in the *Right*, the *Mancesterians* having routed the *Royallists*, and not following them too far, fell upon the *Prince's* and *Goring's* disordered Troops, hindring them to Rally, and quite dispersed them. It is affirmed, That the Three
Rebel-

Rebel-Generals quitted the Field, leaving to *Cromwell*, *Manchester's* Lieutenant General, the Honour of the Day ; for, he keeping his great Reserve of Horse in a firm Body, followed the *Cavaliers* so close, that he hindred them to Rally and Embody again.

The Fight lasted from Seven, till Ten at Night, with great Courage and Slaughter on both Sides ; though the Victory fell to the *Rebels*, as also the Cannon and Spoil of the Field. There were Two of *Newcastle's* Regiments, called his *Lambs*, being old Souldiers, who fell not unrevenged. For, the rest being fled, they casting themselves into a Ring, did alone resist *Cromwell's* Assaults ; nor could they, however abandoned by their Friends, and furrounded by their Enemies, be broke, until, being shot at like Fowl at a Distance ; and overwhelmed with showers of Bullets ; not then perishing, without Slaughter of their Enemies ; scarce any of these miserable *Braves* escaping, tho' worthy of a better Fortune. The slain were computed at Eight Thousand ; the Slaughter made by *Cromwell*, being compensated in that made by the *Prince* upon the *Fairfaxians*, and especially the *Scots*, being most animated against them. His Highness being returned from his Pursuit too late ; rallying what he could of his dispersed Troops, returned with his Remains into *Lancashire* ; whilst the *Marquis* retreating to *York*, left that also ; and, with his Two Sons, and very many of his Principal Officers, leaving *England* to its Dissentions and Tumults, failed for *Hamburg*.

The *Royallists* being thus dispersed, *York* is again *York* besieged by the Three victorious Armies ; but, *York* wanting Powder, wherewith they had furnished their Camp before the Fight, the City was delivered up by *Sir Thomas Glenham*, the Governour, upon Honourable Terms ; most of the *Northern* Counties, following her Fortune.

F 4

But,

rendred
July 23.

Branden-
Heath
Fight,
Mar. 29.

But, the King was more successful in other Places, especially where he commanded in Person. *Waller* having lost his Army at the *Devizes*, had raised another in *London*; the Citizens, that they might contribute to this *Holy War*, defrauding their barking Stomachs of one Meal by the Week. His first Exploit, was the Recovery of *Arundel-Castle*, sometime before taken by *Hopton*. Being joined with *Balfore* and *Hazelrig* at *Winchester*, not unmindful of his Defeat at the *Devizes*, he did now in some Sort bravely revenge it upon *Hopton* himself at *Branden-Heath* near *Alsford*, the Lord *John Stuart* being mortally wounded in the Fight. The Foot stood bravely to it at push of Pike, till the *Royallists* being outnumb'ed, were forced to give Way. The *Earl of Forth* having sent the Cannon away before to *Winchester*, and that he might likewise save the Horse, wheeled about with them to *Basing*, and so to *Oxford*. There fell of the *Royallists* in this Combat, near Five Hundred, besides the above-mentioned Lord; as also Sir *John Smith*, and the Colonels, *Sandys*, *Scot* and *Manning*. The Rebels acknowledged scarce One Hundred of theirs slain; besides Colonel *Delbier*, and Colonel *Tompson*, who were wounded. Nor did *Waller* insult long; for, his Forces being joined to *Essex's*, both were designed to besiege *Oxford*.

The King having Notice of the Enemies Intentions, sent the Queen toward the *West*, and himself (having left a strong Garrison in the City) with Three thousand Horse and Four thousand Foot, marched towards *Worcester*. The Two Generals follow the King, with Two distinct Camps; but, meeting again at *Buxford*, *Essex* joining *Massey* to *Waller*, sent them a *King-catching*, as they termed it; whilst he himself moves with his Army into the *West*, to subdue those Counties. By this means, they were both defeated; for, the King
slip-

slipping by *Waller*, returned with quick Marches to *Burford*, where he met his Cannon and Ammunition from *Oxford*; and afterwards encountered *Waller* at *Copredy-Bridge*, Eleven thousand strong, overcame him. The Enemy had possessed themselves of a Hill, from whence watching the *Royalists* Motion, they bravely attempted them in their Passage of the Bridge; but, being as bravely received by the *Earls* of *Northampton* and *Cleveland*, who commanded the Rear, they were beaten and routed. The *Rebels* lost their Cannon; near a Thousand wounded and slain, besides several of their Officers.

Copredy-Bridge Fight,
June 20.]

Waller being ruined, the King hastens after *Essex*; and came with his Army to *Liskard*, Eight Miles from *Lestibiel*, where the *Rebels* lay Encamped. *Essex* had taken *Taunton* and *Weymouth* in his Way; and, being advanced near *Exeter*, the *Queen*, who was brought to Bed in that City of the *Princess Henrietta*, sent a Trumpet to him, to desire him to forbear from Hostility for some little time, till she was recovered; but she was denied. A while after, she sending again to him for a Pass to go to the *Bath*, was brutishly refused, with this Answer; That, if she would go to London, where she might be furnished with every Thing necessary for her Health, he would send her a Convoy; adding, he knew no other way. Whilst *Essex* was upon his March, it was sharply contested at a Council of War, Whether he should proceed in his Journey Westward, or return and fight the King, who was not far off; lest if he continued his March, he might, when he came into the Straits of *Cornwall*, be inclosed betwixt him and *Prince Maurice*, then in those Parts. And, this was the Opinion of the wisest part of the Council, but did not prevail; for, the Lord *Roberts* was earnest to advance, and relieve *Plymouth*, which had been a long Time besieged; which done, he sheweth

*Essex his
Rudeness to
the Queen.*

sheweth them *Cornwall*, where they might quickly be recruited, by means of his Dependants and Friends, and obtain an easie Victory of *Prince Maurice*, who would be in no competent Condition to oppose them. And, this Opinion, the worst by the Sequel, carried it. The *Royallists* fierce with their late Victory, demanded to be brought to the Enemy. But the King, though not without commending their Ardor, thinking to gain a bloodless Victory, commanded all the Passages and Avenues to the Camp to be shut up. The King himself, who joined *Prince Maurice* near *Exeter*, lay at *Bocconock*, sending *Sir Richard Greenville* to *Bodmin*, and *Sir Jacob Ashby* to *Hale*. *Goring* with Horse, and *Sir William Basset* with Fifteen Hundred Foot were sent Westward, with strict Orders, to stop and cut off all manner of Provisions from the Besieged; so that the Enemy, reduced to great Wants and Distress, were willing to treat; which was no less willingly assented to by his Majesty, to whom no Victory was more grateful, than when he overcame his Enemies by their own Consent. The Horse commanded by *Balfore*, under pretence of Skirmishing and drawing out to Fight, broke through the Intervals of our Quarters, and came safely to *Salnash*, and thence to *Plymouth*, leaving their Foot and Cannon to *Mercy*. The *General* himself, with *Roberts* and some others, secured themselves likewise, taking Boat at *Foy* for *Plymouth*. But yet he could not escape the Obloquy of some, who wond'ered, that so great a *General* should leave so brave an Army, in such certain Danger; though others excused him, he having thereby conserved himself, and his Chief Officers and Souldiers, for the Service of the *Commonwealth*. But all Men blamed *Waller*, *Manchester*, and especially *Middleton*; because they seemed to loyter, when they should have made all imaginable Haste to his

He leaves
his Camp to
the King's
Mercy, and
flies. Essex
defeated,
Sept. 1.

his Assistance. The Foot being thus abandoned, sent Commissioners to the King to treat about the Surrender of the Camp; which was easily assented to, Quarter being granted to all, and their Swords and Pistols to all above the Degree of *Corporals*. There were found in the Camp, Forty Brass Pieces of Ordnance, Two hundred Barrels of Powder, and Arms for Nine thousand Men. Several Hundreds of the Foot, took Arms with the Victorious; and the rest, had Liberty to go where they pleased, upon Condition they should serve no more against the King. But these, as well as they of *Brandford*, broke their Words, violating their Promises with the same perfidious Levity; for, being come to *Basing*, they were again armed. And, it was observed, that none fought so eagerly against the King, as those very Fellows. An usual Testimony of their Gratitude.

The King raised with no Success, but in order to Peace; did now again from *Tavestock*, as he had formerly done from *Evesham*, court the *Two Houses* by a Message to them, earnestly desiring, they would appoint some Commissioners to treat; but all to no purpose. His Majesty had likewise invited *Essex*, when besieged at *Lestithiel*, very graciously, to join Forces with him, that so they might jointly procure what they both so earnestly contended for, the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. Wherein also, he should lay an Eternal Obligation upon his King; and if any should oppose their Pious Endeavours, they would render them happy, whether they would or not. But he wretchedly neglected this amicable Summons, affirming, That his Orders were to fight, not to treat.

Essex being strengthened by the Accession of his old Foot, by several City-Regiments, by *Manchester's* Army, as also other Forces under the Commands of *Waller*, *Browne*, and other Chiefs of the Party, grew suddenly so numerous, that he again attempted

attempted the King at *Newbury*. He had designed before any more Action, to repair to the Parliament, and give them an Account of the Misfortune of his Expedition, as also to excuse it. But, they perceiving his Design, writ to him, that they were satisfied, that nothing happened by any Omission of his; and therefore being assured of his Fidelity and Courage, they desire him not to despond, but chearfully to prosecute the War; adding further, that he should endeavour with all his Power, to hinder the King's Return to *Oxford*, and rather hazard a Battel than suffer him to pass thither; which he also did, and it was fought on both Sides with equal Conduct and Bravery, until the Night parted them.

*The second
Battel of
Newbury.*

The King had possessed himself of the Town of *Newbury*; but being far short of the Enemy in Numbers, he fortified the Avenues of it, drawing up the rest of his Army in *Spean-Field*, an opportune place betwixt the Town and the Castle. Where he expected *Prince Rupert*, who was absent, with Three Thousand Horse, and the *Earl of Northampton*, who had relieved *Banbury*, with a Thousand more. When the Enemy saw they could not allure the *Royallists* to engage by Skirmishes, and that they durst not attempt them without manifest Danger, they divide their Forces, sending a good part of them with *Waller*, *Balfore*, and *Skippon* to *Cheveley*, on the other side of the Town, with Resolution to attack the King's Camp from both parts at once; which accordingly they did; and, after a brave Fight, both highly animated, whilst the *Royallists* thought to revenge their Loss at *Marston-Moor*, and the *Roundheads* theirs of *Cornwall*, the latter prevailed; insomuch, that they forced the *Cavaliers* to abandon the Ditch, and Nine Pieces of Ordnance. Nor did the Fight end so, until the Night and Darknes parted them. There were slain on the

the King's side Three Thousand Men, amongst which, were *Charles* the *Lord Goring's* Brother, *St. Leger*, *Trevillian*, and others. The old *Earl of Brandford* was shot in the Head, *Sir Jo. Greenville*, *Campfield* the younger, *Walgrave*, &c. wounded; and amongst the Prisoners, the brave *Earl of Cleveland* was of Chief Note. Nor was the Slaughter, much inferiour on the Rebels side, theirs amounting to no less than Five and Twenty Hundred. And yet, we must not deny the Enemy the Advantage of the Fight, by reason of the King's going off by Night; who leaving his Cannon and Baggage in *Dennington-Castle*, marched without Interruption (which shewed he was not vanquished, though worsted) with his Army to *Wallingford*, and thence to *Oxford*.

The *Royallists* being retreated, the *Essexians* having swallowed the great Booty in their Thoughts, besiege *Dennington-Castle*, but not with the same Success; for, *Boys* the Governour, having been thrice summon'd, and thrice assaulted, did as often reject and bravely repel those Insults of the Rebels; preserving himself and the Treasure deposited with him, until the King, having brought back his Army from *Oxford*, after some sharp Encounters, did not only relieve the Place, but also brought off his Guns, possessing himself of *Newbury*, a most convenient place for his Winter-Quarters.

The *Members* at *Westminster*, being dissatisfied with the Proceedings of their Army, appointed a Committee to examine their Errors and Omissions, especially those that were committed since the Fight at *Newbury*, and at the succouring of the Castle, their Forces being double the Enemies in Numbers.

The Faction suspecting *Essex* to be either careless, or discontented, and that he did not act with the same Vigour as formerly; apprehending him perhaps, too much enclined to Peace (for he had dared

Dennington-Castle bravely defended.

dared to write to the Parliament some time since, to incline them to it) or, over-affectionate to the *Nobility*, which they grew weary of; were casting about, though they did not seem to suspect his Fidelity, how they might with least Noise (for he was still very considerable for his Interest) be rid of him. *Cromwell*, in his Narrative of the raising of the Siege of *Dennington*, had aspersed *Essex's* Forces, with some oblique Reflections; which so transported him, that he was resolved to vindicate his Honour with the Ruine of the Informer. And, for the more Security, he closed with the *Scots* Commissioners, as knowing them highly incens'd against them, because of the profuse Liberty of Speech he had used in their Concerns. Having therefore convened a private Meeting of choice Friends, both he and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, used all their Arguments and Elocution, to prove him an *Incendiary* betwixt the Two Nations; which they had further proceeded in, if they had not been dissuaded, by the contrary Opinions of *Maynard* and *Whitlocke*, whom he had called thither, and advised with in this grand Affair. But, the *Grandees* at *Westminster* did not desist; resolving, not only to remove him, but with him all the *Presbyterians* in Power. Yet, first to sweeten him, and lest he might oppose their Design; they vote him Ten Thousand Pounds *per annum* out of *Delinquents* Estates, as a Testimony of their Gratitude for his eminent Services for the *Commonwealth*; for, the *Independants* growing rampant, designed to get the Command of the Armies into their own Hands. The *Houses* therefore voted, (pretending nothing of their own private Interest, but all for the Publick,) That no Member of either House should during that War, enjoy or execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which had been granted or conferred on them by either House, or by Authority derived from them.

The self-de-
nying Or-
dinance.

The

The *Lords*, though often pressed by the *Commons* to pass this Ordinance, could not be induced to do it, not obscurely foreseeing their Design against the *Nobility*, and most eminent *Presbyterians*; nay, some looked upon this Change in the *Militia*, as the Grave of *Monarchy* and their *Peerage*. And yet, after some Time, they so far concurred with the *Commons*, that they assented to the List of Officers for the new Modelling the Army; insomuch, that they were thanked by the *Commons*, and assured of their *Affection and Support*.

Cromwell only was exempted from this General Order, being permitted by a particular Act, to continue in the Camp. The Command of the Army, was conferred upon *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, a Person thought obnoxious to the Artifices of every prevailing Faction, and therefore approved of by the Suffrages of both Parties. He was daring, and no Self-seeker. Constancy was attributed to his Natural Temper, being Melancholy, which was notwithstanding thought ductile where Religion was in Question; and therefore *Cromwell*, that famous Impostor in Godliness, was given him for a supervising Lieutenant. The Forces, as if new raised, were new mustered and modelled; the *Presbyterians* being by various Arts dismissed of their Employments, and the most zealous of the *Independant Sectaries* put into their Places. And here we may also observe, that the Clause for conserving the King's Person, which was inserted in *Essex's* Commission, was by Vote of the *Lower House*, left out of that which was given to *Fairfax*; and not absurdly, it seeming superfluous to except him, against whom you point a Hundred Thousand Darts.

It was now Winter, and the Armies on both sides were in their Winter Quarters, whilst the *Houses* were busie in modelling theirs, especially in their

their Choice of Officers. In the mean Time, lest the Sword should be too sparing of Blood-shed, the Ax likewise was to be glutted with the Effusion of it.

Hull, Ply-
mouth.

Sir *Alexander Carew*, as also the Two *Hothams*, repenting, though too late, of the Crimes they had committed by their *Rebellion* against the best of Princes, would have delivered the Fortresses they had so unjustly detained, to the true Owner again, as an Expiation of their Offences; but, being intercepted, they were Tried by a Court-Marshal for High-Treason, and by Sentence thereof, they were all, as equally Guilty, beheaded; but, fell unlamented, by Reason of their Inconstancy. Of the *Hothams*, I have made some mention already. And, of *Carew*, I will add this not unworthy to be noted, which happened at the Tryal of the *Earl of Strafford*. Sir *Bevil Greenville* (a Person never to be mentioned but with Honour) at the passing the *Bill of Attainder*, said to Sir *Alexander*, sitting then next him, and both serving for *Cornwall*; Sir, pray let it not be said, That any Member of our County, should have a Hand in this Ominous Affair, and therefore pray vote against this Bill. But, the other instantly replied; If I were sure, to be the next Man that should suffer upon the same Scaffold, and with the same Axe; I would give my Consent to the passing of it. And, we have seen, how truly and how circumstantially exact, he foretold his own Fate.

Archbishop
Laud, mur-
dered, Ja-
nuary 10.

William Laud, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, followed next, more truly lamented of all good Men. They had abolished the *Book of Common-Prayer*, and the *Liturgy*, as Preludes to his Fate and Function. But, not daring to hazard his Tryal by a *Common-Jury*, (for no Law could condemn him) nor by the *Peers*, as equally dubious; he then was voted *Guilty* in the *Commons House*, the *Lords* by an inauspicious Compliance sitting with them. The *Scots* had formerly

ly

ly declared him an Incendiary, and a publick Enemy, upon which Account he had been thus long kept in Prison : And now they demand his Life, as a grateful Retribution for their Assistance; which was also sacrificed to their Ambition, and Fears. Thus the *Covenant* betwixt both Nations, was to be cemented with *Episcopal Blood*.

This Great Pillar of our *Church*, as he had been eminent in his Life for Vertue, was no less remarkable at his Death for his Piety. He preached his own Funeral Sermon upon the Scaffold, and that with a Countenance no less serene than his Mind, which he was going to offer up to his *Creator*, and far from that seeming Weakness (as he then Prophesied) which appeared in him, when the illustrious *Strafford*, going that same way, called to him for his Benediction. Generous Spirits, being no less affected for their Friends Sufferings, and sometimes more, than their own. And, thus fell this Good *Man* and Good *Bishop*, by the nefarious Ambition of *Pretended-Reformed Christians*.

We must acknowledge, that the *Bishops* fell by the Envy of the *Pæsyterians*, who stirr'd up the People against them, as too seemingly imperious. Not that they would have their Power abrogated; for, That they pretended to themselves, being resolved to assert that of *Archbishops* in their *National*, and that of *Bishops* in their *Provincial Synods*, whilst every Individual *Presbyter*, should exercise more than Prelatick Jurisdiction in his own *Classis*.

The publick Severity requiring more Blood, the Lord *Macquire* and *Macmahon*, Two *Irish* Noblemen, Chief Contrivers in the Bloody Conspiracy in *Ireland*, deservedly suffered the *Gallows*, though not proportionable to their abominable Contrivance. And yet these, especially *Macquire*, had been tampered with, to accuse the King, as an Abettor in this *nefarious Rebellion*; which he yet

G

generously

generously enough disowned upon his Death.

*The Treaty
of Ux-
bridge.*

Fortune as yet, or rather *Providence*, had not decided the Quarrel. The War was unhappily prolonged; and there appeared some Hopes of composing our Troubles by Treaty; and particularly, in that of *Uxbridge*. The King, as is already mentioned, after his routing of *Waller* at *Copredy-bridge*, and defeating of *Essex* at *Lestisbiel*, had sent Messages to the Parliament with offers of Peace, which he now again renews from *Oxford*; no less graciously than affectionately inviting them to comply with him, in restoring these harassed Kingdoms to their former Tranquillity. But, it proved fruitless, and all the King's Concessions, how indulgent soever, could effect nothing. For, the Demands of the *Faction* were so high, and their Propositions so unreasonable, that the King could not assent to them, without ruining his *Conscience* as a Christian, and his *Majesty* as a Prince. For, these modest Men did require *The Extirpation, of Hierarchy, by the Abolition of Episcopacy and the Liturgy; and, the Introduction of Presbyters, and the Directory in their stead.* They would divest the King, of all his Power, both *Military and Civil.* And did press, *That the Nobles, and such as had been true to their Duty, should be delivered over to their Justice; that is, to Death, to Imprisonment and Exile: Which appeared so Inhumane and Tyrannical, that it is abhorring to Sense and Reason; whilst these nefarious Conspirators do not think, that the King hath done enough in pardoning his Enemies, unless he also betray his Friends.* By this it appeared, how inclinable they were to Peace. As also, by their sudden breaking of the Treaty, contrary to the King and his Commissioners Desires, they did demonstrate, that they were resolved to permit the Decision of the Cause to the Sword, and to perpetuate themselves thereby, in their Usurped Tyranny.

About

About this Time, *Major General Mitton* surprized *Shrewsbury*, betrayed to him; being of very great ^{ry surpris-} Detriment to the King. *Scarborough* and *Weymouth* ^{red.} were also taken; which happening presently after the Treaty, the *Houses* ordered a Day of publick Thanksgiving for these great Victories, as being Evidences from Heaven of their Sincerity.

Sir Thomas Middleton had formerly beaten *Colonel Marrow* from the Siege of *Oswestry*. Nor was he less fortunate at *Montgomery*. He had surprized the Castle by Intelligence, which by reason of the Consequence of its Situation, being an Entry into *North-Wales* was again Besieged by the *Lord Byron*, General of those Countries. But *Middleton*, with the Assistance of *Brereton*, *Meldrum*, and *Sir William Fairfax*, with their conjoined Forces, relieved the Place; and, after a sharp Fight, routed the Ca- ^{The Fight} valiers. Fortune seemed at first to favour the ^{at Mont-} juster Side, by forcing away the Enemies Horse; ^{gomery.} but changing, the Rebels carried the Day. The slain of the *Royallists*, were at least Three Hundred, and no fewer wounded; though the Enemy scarce lost a Hundred, except *Fairfax* and *Symons*.

And now *Essex* (a no less Victory to the *Independents*) as also the *Earls* of *Denbigh*, *Manchester* and *Warwick*, and the rest of the Chief Officers, lay down their Arms, resting Inglorious, and only not neglected; especially *Essex*, who denied to give ^{Essex dis-} Peace to the Kingdom, though invited to it by the ^{carded.} King himself, when it was in his Power. And now, retiring from Business, he languished away the Residue of his Days, in Discontent and an irksome Retreat.

BOOK III.

The Continuation of the Irish Rebellion. The Lords of the Pale, side with the Rebels. Their Model of Government. The Cruelty of the English in Ireland. Ormond makes first a Cessation, then a Peace with the Irish. Delivers Dublin to the English. The King vindicated from any Correspondence with the Irish Rebels. Fairfax marches Westward; recalled, besieges Oxford. The King relieves Chester. Takes Leicester. The Fatal Battel of Naesby described. The King's Cabinet taken, and published. Fairfax relieves Taunton. The Fight at Langport. He takes Bridgwater, Sherburne and Bristol. The King's Travels and Labours. The Scots besiege Hereford. They quit it. The Fight at Rowton-Heath. Digby and Langdale defeated in the North. Barclay-Castle, the Devizes, and Tiverton taken. Cromwell takes Winchester and Basing-House by Assault. The Fight at Torrington. The Prince passes into France. The Lord Hopton disbands his Army. Distractions at Newark. The King returns to Oxford. The Lord Ashley defeated.

Continuation of the Rebellion in Ireland.

IT is now time to return to the *Irish History*, we have hitherto discontinued, with design not to interrupt the *English*. And, shall now take the same Liberty to represent this, to the Rendition of *Dublin* to the *English*, in one continued Relation.

The King had committed the Government of *Ireland* to the *Earl of Leicester*, a Favourite of the *Faction*, upon a Supposition, that that Kingdom would be the better provided for. But, he observing the backwardness of the Parliament, however pref-

fed

fed by frequent Addreffes from the Council there, and by reiterated Messages from his Majesty nearer, had no mind, tho' invited to it, and entrusted with it, to stir or engage himself in fo hazardous an Enterprife. He therefore, lest he might seem wholly to neglect his Province, commissioned the *Earl of Ormond*, a Person made up of *Honour* and *Loyalty*, to be his *Lieutenant General* in that Kingdom; which was likewise approved of by his Sacred Majesty, the best Judge of Men and Abilities; and, who afterwards Honoured his Merit with the Chief Government of the whole: Which he performed with so much Courage, Constancy, and Prudence, as will raise him a Trophy of Honour in the Annals of Time. Upon his Arrival at *Dublin*, with a Troop of a Hundred Horse well armed, having been summoned thither by the *Lords-Justices*, he revived by his Presence the desponding Courage of the City. He also immediately proposed in *Council*, the raising of a small Army, which might in the Infancy of the *Rebellion* have suppress'd, or else stopt its Progress; but, they being either not able, or not willing, (and the Reader may believe both, as will too visibly appear hereafter) the Business was laid aside.

The Conspirators, especially in *Ulster*, where they were most predominant, having with the Extremity of Rage and Cruelty, drowned, slain, spoiled, stripp'd and ejected infinite Numbers of the poor Protestants, made *Sir Phelim O Neal* their General. He was of the House of *Tyrone*, but bred up in *Lincoln's-Inn*, and a Protestant till of late, though indeed of no famed Conduct or Courage. However, he took *Dundalk*, which was surrendered to him, and besieged *Tredah* by Sea and Land. *Tichburne* the Governour, doubtful of the Event, had demanded and obtained the Grant of Succours from *Dublin*. Six Hundred Foot were sent to him

under the Command of *Major Roper*, with a Convoy of Fifty Horse for their Security. But, they were surprized in a Mist by the *Irish*, and defeated, scarce one Hundred of the Foot escaping to *Tredah* with the *Major*, though the Horse with *Weems* their Commander, brake through, and returned back to *Dublin*. It is not conceivable, what Courage this Success (then great) infused into the wavering *Irish*.

*The Lords
of the Pale,
join with
the Rebels.*

Those who were content to look on before, became hereupon Actors in this *Tragedy*. Nay, the *Lords of the Pale*, who had hitherto stood upon their Guard, now upon the uncontrouled Progress of the *Rebels*, and the no Appearance of any considerable Forces from *England* (the Breach there betwixt the King and Parliament daily wid'ning) to oppose them; they also, contrary to the sacred Vows of Duty and Allegiance, forfeited both, by joining with their Countrymen. Nay, all the Provinces in the Kingdom broke out into a detestable *Rebellion*, being instigated thereunto by their *Priests* and *Confessors*, with the Appearance, nay, Assurance of *Liberty*, and *Heaven*. Besides, they had understood, that their Country was to be enslaved, and their Estates to be divided amongst the *English* Adventurers; to each, proportionable to the Money raised by them for the Use of the War. Nay further, that they not only designed to suppress the *Rebellion*, but the very *Religion* of the *Rebels*. They therefore now declare, *That they fight for their Altars, for their Subsistence, and for their Lives; seeing their Countrymen were denied Quarter in England. So that, their taking up Arms was no Rebellion, their extream Peril unavoidably obliging them to it.* These and the like Arguments, obliged all to run to their Natural Defence, so that there was no Corner exempt from this dismal Infection. And yet it was not so universal, but that some of the principal of the *Nobility*, continued, to their great Honour,

Honour, unshaken in their Fidelity to the King; nor so bloody, but that some Marks of Humanity, appeared in the very *Actors* in this *Tragedy*, who sheltered, cloathed, fed, and delivered very many from the Barbarities of their Associates. Which ought not to be silenced, without Injustice, and Ingratitude.

And now the *Rebels* finding their Strength and Numbers considerable, institute a Form of a *Common-wealth*; and choosing amongst themselves a Council of the most eminent Persons of the Party, gave it the Title of *The Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland*; and framing an Oath of Association, by which all were bound to obey them, assumed the Form of a Regular Government. This *Senate* consisted of Five and Twenty, Six out of each Province; the Twenty Fifth being *Castle-Haven*, newly escaped from *Dublin*, where he had continued a Prisoner a great while. They also made them a *Great Seal*; coined and raised Money; erected several Courts of Judicature; appointed several Officers of State; and amongst other Points of Regality, constituted Four Generals of the Four Provinces; *Preston*, for *Leinster*; *Barry*, *Munster*; *Owen Roe O Neal*, *Ulster*; *Burk*, *Conaught*. They had cleared most of the Inland Countries of the *English*, and did really bear all before them, until those few *English* sent over, joining with the Protestants at *Dublin*, put a stop to their Career. In the mean Time, they put out their *Remonstrance*, where amongst other things, they declare, *That they had taken up Arms for Defence of the Roman-Catholick-Religion, their own Rights and Privileges, and the King's Prerogative, &c.* exactly copied afterwards by the *Rebel-Parliament* in *England*.

The Rebels settle a Form of Government.

Their Four Generals.

The *Irish* had hitherto lived in Amity with the *Scots*, apprehending the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, and lest they should buckle with Two Enemies at

They raise
the Siege
of Tre-
dah,

once; but finding their Power grow, they also fell upon their Quarters, using them with no less infamous Barbarities than they had done the *English*. But, the Siege of *Tredah* went but slowly on; for, tho' they practise all the Arts of Force, and Intelligence, in the assaulting of it, yet upon the Arrival of Sir *Simon Harcourt* with a strong Regiment out of *England*, despairing of carrying it, they quitted it, not without considerable Loss. For, the Governour falling in his Rear with most of his Garrison, did such Execution upon them, that he pursued them to *Dundalk*; which he also took by Assault, forcing *O Neal* to pass the River for his Security. For all this, the Enemies by the general Defection of the Nation, grew so numerous, that they threatened *Dublin*; and, filling the Villages and Country round, extremely obstructed their Markets and Commerce by their Cavalcades. There were no less than Twenty Thousand reckoned in this Province of *Lemster*, but they wanted Skill and Military Conduct; so that they waged War with Numbers, not Understanding. Whilst the *English* who were but few, and had received no great Assistance out of *England*, did not only oppose, but dared to provoke them, beating, routing, killing and destroying them in well-nigh all the Encounters they had with them; for, being well armed, well led, and well disciplin'd, they easily vanquished so effeminate and so unknowing an Enemy. But, as the *Brittish* were more brave, so they were no less cruel than the *Irish*, revenging the Barbarousness of their Adversaries with equal Inhumanity. For, they destroyed many Thousands of them, ruining with Fire and Sword, and pillaging all they met with; reducing a well planted, most fertile Country, into a Solitary Desert; whereby they did not only destroy the Natives, but created to themselves irreparable Mischiefs and Desolation, by ruining that which they should

The Cruel-
ty of the
English in
Ireland.

should have subsisted with. Hence grew those Wants upon them which they had occasioned, and were now forced to combat a stronger Enemy than they had yet encountred, as Hunger, want of Pay, Clothes, and all other Nutriments of War. Which they had in vain expected from the *Parliament*, its self now *Rebellious*, and so far from assisting them, *Their Necessities.* that they themselves seized upon the Money designed for *Ireland*, taking a Hundred Thousand Pounds of it at once, and employing those Regiments raised for that Service under the *Lord Wharton*, to fight their own King, as they did at *Edge-hill*, in that unnatural *Rebellion*. Seeing this, they earnestly petitioned his Majesty for their Discharge, or to be transferred to any other Warfare, where they might contend with any Enemy but Hunger.

The King being thus daily sollicitated by the pressing Miseries of his Subjects, and seeing no other way to relieve or deliver them; commanded the *Earl of Ormond* to make a Cessation with the *Irish* *Ormond makes a Cessation with the Irish.* for a Year (which he did) and to send Three Thousand of the *Protestant Army* into *England*, (leaving the Garrison well provided) to assist him to oppose the *Rebellious Scots*, who then invaded him. This Cessation was variously censured, according to the Interest or Inclination of Parties. Such who disapproved it, cried out against the *Transportation* of the *Soldiery*, pretending, It would expose the *Protestants* that remained, and be of too much Advantage to the *Rebels*. But others, more discerning and equal, were of Opinion, *That it is always better to save a Citizen, than destroy an Enemy. It was the prime Interest of a Prince to preserve himself.* *Ireland was not so formidable, but when England was quiet, it might be reclaimed by fair Means, or by foul. There was more Danger from the Puritans, who threatened Ruine to Religion and Monarchy.*

The *Parliamentarians*, and *Scots-Irish* refused to be included

*Then a
Peace*

included in this *Truce*, being supported with Money and Supplies out of *England*; which was denied the *Royallists*, by reason of their unshaken Fidelity to their King, which neither the Threats nor Allurements of the now *English Rebels*, could blemish or overcome. *Ormond* (now *Marquess*, and *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*) improved this Cessation with much Prudence and Industry, by a continued Treaty, into a Peace: which being proclaimed at *Dublin* and *Kilkenny*, he followed thither with Fourteen Hundred Men, where he was received by the *Supreme Council* with due Respect and State, who also surrendred the Government which they had thus long managed, into his Hands. But this Calm did not last long, most of the Chief Towns and Great Officers, as *Preston*, and *Owen Roe O Neal*, with others, dissenting. The *Archbishop of Firme*, the *Popes Nuntio*, not only protested against this Peace, but, adding the Thunder of Excommunication, renewed the War with more violence than ever. *Ormond* ran no small Hazard of being intercepted in his Retreat to *Dublin*, where he was given for lost; and therefore received with very extraordinary Joy by the People.

1646

*The Nuntio
dissents and
besieges
Dublin.*

The War had been continued betwixt the Dissenting *Brittains* and the *Irish*, ever since the Cessation, with various Fortune. But, now thinking that a fair Opportunity did present it self, by the Absence of the *English Army*, for the Conquest of the whole Kingdom, they join all their Forces together; and, raised with some late Successes (for *Owen Roe O Neal* had defeated *Monroe* and his *Scots* in *Ulster*, slain above Five Hundred of his Men, taken Five Field-pieces, all his Baggage and Five Thousand Arms) they besiege *Dublin* by Land, which was also block'd up by the *Parliament-Ships*, now equally *Rebels*, which lay before the Haven. The *Lord Lieutenant* unable to resist so many Enemies,

mies, and destitute of all hopes of Relief, acquainted his Majesty with the present State of Affairs; who seeing it impossible to defend the Place, commanded him to deliver it rather into the Hands of the *Parliamentarians*, than the *Irish*. An irrefragable Testimony, against the black Calumnies of the *English Rebels*, who did not cease to accuse his Majesty of Intelligence with the *Irish*. But, it will not seem very strange to Posterity, that the Miscreants of the *Faction* should endeavour to assassinate the Fame of this glorious Sufferer, when they had already usurped his Authority; and, that all the steps they made, tended to the martyrizing of his Person. 'Tis true, their Brethren of *Ireland* pretended, That they were owned and authorised by his Majesty; and, to amuse and engage the silly Crowd, shewed them a fictitious *Commission*, with a *Great Seal* affixed to it, belonging to a *Patent* of the *Lord Canfield*, which Sir *Phelim O Neal* took, together with the said *Lord*, in the Castle of *Charlemont*. Which he afterwards confessed at his Tryal; and, being urged further by the Judges to declare, *Why he did so deceive the People?* He replied, *That no Man could blame him to use all Means whatsoever, to promote that Cause he had so far engaged in.* Although this Sir *Phelim*, had been the principal and bloodiest of all the *Rebels*, yet before Sentence, he was offered his Liberty and his Estate, if he would prove, he had had such a *Commission* from the King. But, he generously answered, *He could not; and, That he would not further burthen his Conscience by unjust calumniating the King.* Being upon the Gallows, and ready to be turned off, one *Peake*, and another came posting to the Place, and crying aloud, *Stop*, pierced the Throng; and, having whispered a while, Sir *Phelim* answered aloud, in the hearing of several Hundreds of Spectators, *I thank the Lieutenant General for his intended Mercy; but, I declare,*
good

Ormond
unable to
preserve it,
delivers it
to the Eng-
lish.

The King
vindicated
from any
Correspon-
dence with
the Rebels.

good People, before God, and his Holy Angels, and all of you that hear me, that I never had any Commission from the King, for what I have done, in levying or prosecuting of this War. Nor was it only with him, but with several other Prisoners, that they most impiously endeavoured, by Promises of Life, Liberty, and Estates, and no less, abominable Artifices, to footh them to Confessions, that might entitle the King to this nefarious Rebellion.

King's Be-
arance.

And 'twas thus the Enemy did with exquisite Malice (to use the King's own Expressions in his Divine Meditations) mix the Gall and Vinegar of Falsity and Contempt, with the Cup of his Affliction: charging him not only with Untruths, but such as wherein he had the greatest Share of Loss, and Dishonour, by what was committed. Whereas, in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least Consent, and most grounds of utter Detestation, he might be represented by them to the World, the more inhumane and barbarous.

Dublin
surrendred
to the Par-
liament.

The Treaty being concluded with the Committee of Parliament, the City was surrendred into their Hands. Ormond stipulating amongst other Things, a Liberty of going to the King, to give him an Accompt of the Progress of that War. He found his Majesty in Hampton-Court, in the Hands of the Army; but, seeing how Affairs were carried, he withdrew himself into France, where he continued, until the Confederate Irish, terrified with the Preparations made in England to destroy them, by their humble Addresses to the Queen and Prince of Wales, obtained his Return.

But, it is now time to return into England, where, upon Essex his being laid aside, the Command of the Army was, as we have already related, given to Sir Thomas Fairfax; who, with great Industry and Toil, modell'd and formed the divers Forces that were dispersed under several Chieftains, into one entire Body. This being effected, he marched from

from *Windsor*, his head Quarters, in the Beginning of *May*, by Orders of the Committee of both Kingdoms, to the Relief of *Taunton*, which had been long besieged, and reduced to great Extremity. In the mean Time, *Cromwell* had been sent from *Windsor* with a strong Party, to disturb the King's Preparations about *Oxford*. He defeated two Thousand Horse at *Islip-Bridge*, killing several, and taking Four Hundred Horses, as also Two Hundred Prisoners, with the Queen's Standard. Some Runaways, had taken Sanctuary in *Blechingdon House*; where being followed, and the Place summoned, the unfortunate Governour, to gratifie the Fears of his *Lady*, tamely surrendred it; which cost him his Life, by being shot to Death by the Sentence of a Court-Marshal. Sir *William Vaughan*, sent with some Foot to *Radcot-Bridge*, was likewise with Two Hundred of his Party, intercepted by him. Fierce with these Successes, and strengthened with Six Hundred Foot from *Abington*, he assaulted *Faringdon*; but not without Loss, being bravely received by Sir *George Lisle*, the Governour. At the same Time, *General Goring*, being sent for by the King to *Oxford*, fell upon Five Hundred of *Cromwell's* Men, under the Command of *Whaley* near *Faringdon*; where *Bethel*, who led the Van, was taken, and the rest routed, with the Loss of Three Colours. But *Goring* having Intelligence of *Fairfax's* march Westward, returned with all imaginable Haste to oppose his Attempts upon *Taunton*.

In the mean time, the King taking the Opportunity of *Fairfax's* Absence, sent for his Horse, under the Command of his Nephews, *Rupert* and *Maurice*; and marching himself with his Cannon out of *Oxford*, joined them, notwithstanding *Cromwell* and *Browne's* Endeavour, who were commanded to observe him, to the contrary. His Forces being united (for *Gerrard* having vanquished *Langborne* in *South-Wales*,

1645

Fairfax
marches to
the Relief
of Taun-
ton.

Besieges
Oxford.

South-Wales, was also come up,) he grew so formidable (the Rebels Army being absent) that he was greatly apprehended, especially in the *associated Counties*, and neighbouring Countries. *Fairfax* was recalled upon these Apprehensions: And, though advanced as far as *Blainford*, he there received Counter-Orders, commanding his Return; which he obeyed, sending *Col. Welden*, with betwixt Six and Seven Thousand Men, to the succouring of *Taunton*; whilst he himself, strengthened with the Addition of *Cromwell*, *Browne* and some other Chiefs of the Party, marches to *Oxford* and lays Siege to it. The *Royalists* at *Taunton* upon the Approach of *Welden*, supposing the whole Army to be there, removed from the Town; but, perceiving their mistake, *Goring*, *Hopton*, and *Greenville* joining their Forces, fight and beat *Welden*, and besiege the Town more closely than before.

The King
relieves
Chester.

The King having united his Forces, moved with quick Marches towards *Chester*, one of the Loyalist, and Chief Cities of his Party, then besieged by *Sir William Brereton*, who drew off upon Report of his Majesty's Advance. The King thereupon wheeling about, flies to *Liechester*, and by Summons commands the Town to be surrendered to him. The Place lying in a fertile Country, was also well stored with Ammunition and Provision. The Committee of the Shire was then there, and consulting with the Townsmen about the Summons, told the Messenger, they would return an Answer next Morning: But, that being refused, and but one Hour's Space granted for Consultation, by a Drum sent on purpose; whilst they delayed, the Cannon began to play, which together with the small Shot, they continued to do without Intermision, that Evening and the following Night. The next Morning, the Town was assaulted in many Places at once, and after a stout Defence forced. The Garrison embodied

Leicester
taken.

embodied again upon the Market-Place, and continued the Fight with great Resolution; till being oppressed with Numbers, they were defeated with a great Slaughter. The Plunder of the Place followed, which was great; the Governour * and the Committee, with several other Officers and Gentlemen, being made Prisoners. * Colonel Gray.

The King's Affairs much heightened with this Victory, were judged by most Men, not inferiour to the Enemies. And he himself thought no less, when he writ to the *Queen*, in these Terms, *I may without being too sanguine affirm, That since this Rebellion, my Affairs were never in so hopeful a Way.* The Men at *Westminster*, terrified with the Greatness of the Danger, and in no less Disquiet by reason of the Diffidence, and Dissensions amongst themselves, which every Success on the King's Side would improve, dispatch'd sudden Commands to *Fairfax*, who had thus long trifled at the Siege of *Oxford*, *That he should forthwith follow the King, and having overtaken him, fight him if possible, and so decide the controversy by Battel.* This City, seated in the middle of the Kingdom, was a great Eye-sore to the *Faction*. Besides, it extreamly incommoded *London*; and, being the *Royal-Seat* of the King, and head of the contrary Party, it seemed great to attempt it. Nor were they without hopes, seeing the *Cavaliers* were so remote, and dispersed. But, the King sollicitous for *Oxford*, as also for *Pomfret Castle*, which had been long besieged, designed to relieve both; and, being nearest the City, sent a strong Party of Horse, with a great Number of Sheep and Cattel, to its Relief, and encamped with the rest of his Army upon *Borrow-hill*. The Convoy having succour'd *Oxford*, the Expedition of *Pomfret*, by *Langdale's* Perswasion, was resolved upon. There were they who advised, that the King should march Westward, and join with *Goring*, who had a very great

great Army, and then with united Forces go directly for *London*; supposed an easie purchase, as being more than sufficiently distracted with Factions and the Terror of their Approach. Whilst they were thus consulting, News was brought that *Fairfax* having quitted *Oxford*, was with his Army at *Gilburg* but Five Miles off, and that he had sent *Ireton* with a good Body of Horse, to observe the *Royallists*: who that Night falling upon the Rear of the Army, quarter'd at *Naesby*, did not only disturb it, but carrying Terror with him, forced the King out of his Quarters, and to make haste to *Harborow*, where the Van of his Army was lodged. Upon this, the King immediately called a *Council of War*; where, neglecting the Opinion of those who dissuaded an Engagement, and prudently advised a Conjunction with *Goring*, they resolved to fight, and because *Fairfax* followed them so close, to turn upon him, and offer him Battel.

The Battel
of Naesby
1645 Jun.
14.

And now the fatal Day, the Eighteenth of the *Kalends of July* did appear, by so much the more dismal, because it ushered in under the Veil of Liberty, the most insupportable of Tyrannies. All Men's Eyes and Attentions were taken up with the Expectation of the Event of this decisive Day; and, Vows had been sent up to Heaven, at *Oxford* and *London*, for the Success of it; since the Fate of the Kingdom, seemed to depend upon it. *Monarchy and despised Majesty* were to be vindicated on one Side, together with *Religion*; whilst the other contended for *Anarchy and Usurpation*, and a *Liberty of doing Evil*. It was told the King, but falsely, that the *Rebels* were retreating, designing to shelter themselves in the associated Counties. Whereupon, Orders were suddenly given to march; and, least they might get away, some of the heaviest Cannon were left behind, that they might not retard their haste, in preventing the escape of these pretended Fugitives.

tives. But, they found the Enemy drawn up, upon the Advantages they had chosen, in a plow'd Field near *Naesby*, and ready to fight. Though the Sight was surprising, being unexpected; yet the *Royallists* embattelling likewise their Army, advanced towards them. Both sides were full of Courage, and desirous of doing well, proposing nothing less than to overcome. The *Cavaliers* Word was, **God and Queen Mary**; the other Side, **God with us**. The King took to himself the Care of his *Main Battel*. The Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, commanded the *Right Wing* of the Horse, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the *Left*. The *Earl of Lindsey*, and the *Lord Ashley*, led the *Battalions* of Foot towards the *Right*; and, the *Lord Bard* and Sir *George Lisle*, those to the *Left*. In the *Rear* of the Foot, stood *Col. Howard's* Regiment of Horse as a Reserve, the Whole being closed up with the King's Guards and *Prince Rupert's* Regiment of Foot. Nor was the Enemies Order or Numbers disproportionable. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himself, with *Skippon* his *Major General*, commanded the Foot. *Cromwell*, now *Lieutenant General* of the Horse, and *Col. Rossiter* newly arrived, led the *Right Wing*; and *Commissary General Ireton* the *Left*, the Reserves being conducted by the Colonels, *Raynsborough*, *Hammond* and *Pride*. With these Forces, and a more than Civil Rage, the Armies encountred, both equally animated, and of equal Desires and Hopes, the Contest being for an *Empire*. *Rupert* charged with his accustomed Valour, and routed the Three outmost Squadrons of *Ireton's Wing*; but, suffering himself to be hurried away with the too great desire of overcoming, pursued them to the very Town. *Ireton* seeing the *Prince* past, falls with the Remainder of his Horse upon the King's next Brigade of Foot; where, being ill received, he was hurt with a Pike in the Thigh, and a Halbard in his

H

Face,

Face, and his Horse being kill'd under him, he was taken Prisoner; though presently released by the Victory of his Party. But, Affairs went otherwise in the other *Wing*; for, Col. *Whaley*, after a rude Encounter on both Sides, forced *Langdale* with Two of his Squadrons, upon *Prince Rupert's* Men in the Rear; where, whilst he was rallying again, he was quite dispersed by *Cromwell*, who followed. The *Main Battel* on both sides, rushing upon each other with great and equal Fury, fought with all the Incitements of Hope and Desire,

——— *Pede pes, densusq; viro vir:*

mutually exposing their Arms, their Persons, their Wounds. They slay and are slain, force and are forced. But, the Victory, in all Probability, had been the King's, the contrary Divisions being forced up to their Reserves, if *Cromwell* had not with his Troops, fierce with success, joining their *Main Battel*, and charging the *Royallists*, destitute for want of their Horse, broke and routed them. And yet, there was one brave Battalion of Foot (as that at *Marston-Moor*) though charged often on all Sides by *Cromwell*, which could not yet be pierced; till *Fairfax*, charging them with his Horse, and Guards in Front and Rear at once, at length defeated them; worthy of better Fortune, who maintained the Ground they stood on alive, and covered it as if they still would keep Possession of it, when dead.

The *Princes* were scarce returned from the Pursuit (having lost much time in their vain Attempt upon the Carriages, which were guarded with Fire-Locks) and at length come, though too late, when they were forced, with the King (who had performed all the Parts of a Great Captain, and now abandoned by his Fortune, not his Vertue) to leave the Field, and an Entire Victory to the *Rebels*. *Fairfax* did not think it safe, to follow the *Royallists* without his
Foot,

Foot, lest he might expose the Advantage he had got, to new Dangers. He therefore staid till they were come up, being not above a quarter of a Mile behind ; and then opening his Horse to the *Right* and *Left*, received them up betwixt the Interval, and so marched as at the Beginning, in Battle-Army against the Enemy. The King, notwithstanding he had lost all his Foot and his Cannon, would have charged the *Rebels* Horse with his own, which he had embodied, before their Foot were come up; but, being over-perswaded by the desponding Courages of them about him, and the Infantry approaching, the Greatness of that Resolve vanished, and he was obliged to secure himself by a timely Retreat towards *Leicester*, whilst *Langdale* hastened with his towards *Newark*. The *Rebels* Loss, in those slain and wounded, were esteemed near a Thousand ; amongst whom, *Ireton* and *Skippon* were signalized by their Hurts, the Marks of their Disloyalty.

There were taken of the *Royallists* near Five Thousand, and Six Hundred supposed to be slain. The Baggage, Cannon, Eight Thousand Arms, and the vast Spoils of the Field, fell into the Enemies Hands. Six *Colonels*, a Hundred and Four Inferiour Officers, and Two Hundred *Colours* were taken by them at present, and afterward, the Supreme Power, as a Dependance upon their Victory : for, The *Royallists* being entirely broken, lost at the same time, all possibility of renewing the War. The *Rebels* took, amongst other Spoils of the Field (for, the opprobrious Actions of their Triumph must be also told) the *King's Cabinet*, with his Letters which he had writ to the *Queen*, and other particular Friends. These they caused to be printed, with most malicious Annotations. It was a common thing for these impure Barbarians, to calumniate the King, and to worry his Reputation, who

*The King's
Cabinet taken, and
published with
malicious
Annotations.*

preferred his Honour before his Scepters, with Pasquils and infamous Reflections. But, these *Epistles* effected the contrary, as being writ with Ingenuity, with Candor and a Majestick Style. Besides, the *pretended Parliament* was justly blamed, for divulging the Secrets betwixt Husband and Wife. against the Laws of Modesty, and Humanity; and, that by a Brutality, that *Infidels* would blush at.

The Casualties of humane Affairs, are so various, and changeable, that they no less surprize us, than move our Admiration. And here we have a lively Representation of their Incertainties. The *Royallists*, disappointed in their vast Hopes, are now necessitated to endeavour their own Security, not attempt upon others. The Field at *Naesby* being lost, they fled to *Liecester*; where depositing their sick and hurt Men, the King went to *Ashby-de-la-Zouch* that Evening: And, hearing of the Enemies Advance, left it about Midnight, and hastened to *Liechfield*, and thence into *Wales* to *Hereford*, a Place of more Safety for the present; where, by the Assistance of the Neighbouring Counties, he might raise Foot, which he mainly wanted, and which were in some Measure furnish'd to him by draining of the Garrisons in his Obedience, and the Accession of a Thousand Foot and some Horse, sent him by *Gerard* from the Siege of *Pembrook*. *Langdale* fled, as is said, to *Newark*, and 'twas wonder'd he escaped *Gell*, then marching with Two Thousand Horse from *Nottingham* to *Leicester*.

Fairfax in Pursuit of his Victory, followed the *Royallists* close; and laying Siege to *Leicester*, takes it without any considerable Opposition. Here it was sometime disputed, Whether they should follow the King, to hinder and obstruct his Levies; or, hasten to the Relief of *Taunton*, reduced well-nigh to the last Extremity. Both press'd; and therefore, in order to either, he marched with his Army

my through *Warwickshire* toward the *Severn*, in Expectation of Orders from his Superiours; but, upon receiving some Letters intercepted from *Goring* to the King, the latter was preferred, especially the Scots being advanced as far as *Nottingham*, in order to their March towards *Worcester*, and *Wales*, to disturb the King's Recruits.

A cunning Fellow, upon raising of the Siege before *Oxford*, stole into the Town some time before, and told the Secretary, *Sir Edward Nicholas*, somewhat of the King's Progress, as also of the designed Removal of the Camp and Siege; which gained him so much Credit, that he was employed, though with seeming Reluctancy, into the *West*. At *Bath*, he met with the Prince (our since glorious Monarch) who richly rewarding him, sent him further to *Goring*, lying before *Taunton*; who also speedily returned him to the King, with Assurance, that in Three Weeks he should take *Taunton*, and his Majesty be Master of the *West*; humbly advising him, by no means to engage till he had joined him with his Army. But, this suborned Villain, being an Agent of *Watson's*, the *Scout-Master General*, brought these Letters to *Fairfax*; which, if the King had received, 'tis more than probable, that his Majesty had declined fighting when he did. *Fairfax* quickned with this Advice, and lest *Goring* might still join his Forces with the King's, whose Horse were almost entire, and so renew the War; receiving also Orders from the pretended Parliament, and the Committee of both Kingdoms, to hasten his March into the *West* with all Expedition, he moved accordingly. He took *High Worth* in his Way; and, dispersing the *Club-Men* who pretended to be *Neuters*, and only up in their own Defence; advancing with all Diligence, the Siege seemed to be raised by the Fame of his coming. *Goring* was not ignorant of *Fairfax's* Motion, and therefore,

*Fairfax
marches to
the Relief
of Taun-
ton.*

removes from the Siege with a tumultuous Retreat, supposing that the besieged transported with the Joy of their Deliverance, would fall out upon him; which they did, with much Confidence. But, the *Royallists* turning upon them, beat them back with considerable Loss, and shut them up closer than before. But, this last Restraint was of no long Duration; for, *Fairfax* approaching indeed, the Besiegers drew off in good earnest, and marched toward *Langport*, with design to join the Horse they expected from the King. They at first encamped at *Sutton*, having broke the Bridges of that River, guarding the Avenues and Fords of it, that the Enemy might not pass to them. But, the *Rebels* having forced the Passage at *Evil*, and repaired the Bridge, they got over with all their Forces. And thus *Taunton*, now again upon the point of being forced, was delivered; having been bravely defended in both Sieges by *Colonel Blake* the *Governour*, who will also signalize himself hereafter at Sea, for Courage, worthy to be transmitted to Posterity, if he had not sullied it, by employing it against his own Prince.

Colonel Massy was sent with Four Thousand Horse, and some Regiments of Foot, to disturb *General Goring's* Rear; which he did, being also well received. *Fairfax* followed with the Rest of his Army; and, drawing up upon a Hill near *Langport*, saw the Enemies Horse in *Battalia*, upon another opposite to him, being marched out of Town to defend a Passage which hindred *Massy* to join with the *Fairfaxians*. The *Rebels* made a sound Charge upon the said Avenues, and after a brave Resistance, forced the *Royallists* out of the Hedges, and their Horse charging vigorously into the Lane, were as vigorously repelled, until being seconded with Reserves of Horse and Foot, their Cannon also having done much Damage amongst our *Cavalry*, they forced the Passage; the *Royallists* in their Retreat

Langport
Fight.

treat setting the Town on Fire. In this Fight and Rout (for the Enemy pursued within Two Miles of *Bridgewater*) there were not slain above Four Hundred on both Sides, but near two Thousand of the *Royallists* taken; a Thousand Horses, Twenty Foot Colours, One and Thirty Cornets, Two Guns, and all the Baggage. *Lieutenant General Porter*, and Fifty other Officers, were numbred amongst the Prisoners. The loss on the *Rebels* Side, was very inconsiderable, only Two Captains, one Lieutenant and Fifty private Souldiers; *Bethel* and *Cook*, with some others of the forwardest, being wounded. *Fairfax* did not pursue the Run-aways, being unwilling to leave *Bridgewater* behind him. It was therefore resolved, in a *Council of War*, to attack; and to loose no time, to attempt it by Assault. The Town seated on the Banks of *Severne*, and divided into Two by a Branch of it, was very strong. The Moat, though deep, was but narrow, not exceeding Thirty Foot in Breadth, which was filled with the Flood every Tide. The Circuit of the Place was not large, being defended by Eighteen Hundred Soldiers, Forty Guns mounted upon the Walls, with great Stores of other Military Provisions. But, the *Rebels* fierce with their former Victories, and slighting all this, cast Lots for the Posts they were to attempt. But, first they summon the Citizens to a Surrender, with Threats of all the Extremities of War in case of Refusal. Colonel *Edmond Windham*, the *Governour*, no less brave than Loyal, returning the Messenger with Scorn, prepared for Defence. Which so irritated the Enemy, that planting their Cannon, they also ran floating Bridges into the Graft, which was not difficult, by reason of its narrowness; and, storming the Walls, with great Violence, notwithstanding their utmost Resistance, mounted them, and beating the besieged from their Bullwarks seize their Cannon, and turn them upon

the other Town ; whilst the rest forcing the Gate, and cutting down the Draw-bridge, opened a Passage for their Horse to enter at. And thus this part of the Town (it being, as is said, divided by a Chancel) was taken, as also Five Hundred of the Defendants in it. Nor did this terrifie the Governour, who refusing another Invitation to surrender, consumed with Fire from Granadoes, and glowing Bullets, that Portion of the Town which the Enemy had posselt. *Fairfax* having provided all things for another Assault, sent a Trumpet to the Governour ; and, that he might add the Fame of Clemency, to that of his Success, he signified to him, That seeing he was resolved to maintain the Fortress, he would notwithstanding (making War against Men only, and being loath to involve the Innocent with the Guilty) permit the Women and Children, Liberty to go where they pleased. Upon publishing hereof, the Governour's Lady, and some other of that Sex, accepting this unexpected Gallantry, went out : Who were no sooner departed, but the Enemy thundred upon the Town with their Mortar-pieces, Cannon, Fireballs and incessant Showers of small Shot, that the Buildings were all in a Flame. The Citizens and Souldiers astonished with this unusual Tempest, sent Mr. *Elliot*, who had formerly carried the *Great Seal* from London to York, by the Governour's Consent to *Fairfax*, with Conditions of Peace. But, he rejecting all mention of Treaties with the Governour and Garrison, fiercely replied, That since they had destroyed so fine a Town by their Obstinacy, they should immediately surrender themselves to the pleasure of the *Parliament*, upon Quarter for Life only. Which was done ; the Souldiers remaining Prisoners of War, but the Townsmen permitted their former Immunities. The City of *Bath* terrified with the Fate of *Bridgewater*, tamely surrender'd it self to the Colonels

Bridgewater taken.
July 23.

Colonels *Rich* and *Okey*; but, *Sherburne* was defended more nobly. Sir *Lewis Dives*, a Man of Courage and Honour, was Governour of the Castle. Who rejecting *Fairfax's* Summons, and Offer of fair Quarter, replied, *That he would sooner lose his Life, than his Fame, especially in such a Cause.* And, he bravely defended himself and the Place, until it was ruined by Approaches, by Mines, and by a Breach made in the Wall, capable of Ten Men a-breast, with the Rubbage whereof the Moat, was filled and levelled; so, that after much Resistance, it was taken by Assault. Many brave Men fell into *Sherburne* the Enemies Hands, at least Four Hundred. Amongst whom, were Colonel *Thornhill*, Sir *Jo. Wallot*, and others. Nor did they slay Sir *Lewis Dives*, nor Mr. *Strangeways*; who being Members of *Parliament*, were reserved for more exemplary Punishment.

Sherburne being taken, they were at a stand what to undertake next. Some advised, their March *Westward*, to hinder *Goring's* recruiting of his Army, which was broken at *Langport*, which he might easily do by new Levies in the Provinces of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, being countenanced by the *Prince of Wales*, and by the Addition of *Greenville*, *Barkley*, and the rest of the King's Generals. They also demonstrated, how the Plague was in *Bristol*, which might endanger the whole Army, if they moved that way, by the Infection. But, others perswaded the taking of *Bristol*, lest *Prince Rupert*, who was Governour with Five Thousand brave Souldiers, should draw the wavering Club-Men to his Party; and, having the *Severne* open, invite, and obtain Auxiliaries from *Ireland* and *Wales*, and consequently form a formidable Army a-new in the very Bowels of the Kingdom; which would not only render him terrible to the *Parliament*, but troublesome to them also, if he should exclude their Forces, whilst they were

Bristol be-
sieged.

were in the remote Counties of the *West*, from all Commerce with *London* by Land, and disturb their *Rear* whilst they had *Goring* in the *Vai*. They further remonstrated, of what Moment that City was to the *Royallists*, as being their chief Port, and great in shipping and Wealth. *Bristol* being preferred for these Reasons, *Ireton* was sent with Two Thousand Horse to hinder the Excursions of the Garrison, and to oppose the firing of the Neighbouring Villages and Buildings. And yet, *Bedminster*, and *Clifton*, and some other houses nearest, were burnt. The whole Army being advanced, all the Avenues were stopped up, and the City entirely closed by the taking of *Potshard-Point*, and the obstructing of the *Severne* by Seven of their Men of War. Nor did the *Rebels* fix their Quarters and Stations about this great Town, without vigorous Interruption, being obstructed in their Approaches by the continual Sallies of the besieged, though with mutual Slaughter. But, the Multitude prevailed; for, the Club-Men, of whom the *Rebels* doubted before, now *Rebels* themselves, joined with the other *Rebels*; so that the Defendants being shut up within their Works, they were also summoned to a Surrender by a Trumpeter. The Prince demanded Permission, to send to the King to know his Pleasure; which was denied, under pretence of Delay. The Trumpet sent again, was notwithstanding his Orders to return that Evening, not dispatch'd till next Morning, and then returned with a Draught of Conditions from the Prince, above the supposed State of a vanquished Enemy. *Fairfax* perusing them, and finding some things doubtful in them, and others not to be granted but by the *Parliament* it self; he proposed, that Commissioners on both sides, should meet with power to conclude, sending with all a Scheme of what was in his Power to grant. But, the Messenger being

ing delayed, and bringing but a dilatory Answer, he was commanded in Anger suddenly to return, and tell the *Prince*, That unless he would immediately accept of what had been offered, all that had been hitherto done, should pass for nothing. The Trumpet returning again later than ordered, carried with him an Answer not unlike the former. The Prince desired to procrastinate the matter in hopes of Relief, which he seemed to expect from the Conjunction of *Goring's* Forces with the *Oxford-Horse*. For, he had writ from *Collumpton*, that he would be ready in Twenty Days to succour the Besieged. *Fairfax* had also intercepted some of those Letters, which made him prepare for a General Assault, which he designed with his utmost Vigour and Industry. But, these were Dreams; and, all Attempts for renewing the War, after the Defeat at *Naesby*, and *Goring's* Loss of his Foot at *Langport*, but imaginary. The *Royallists* would notwithstanding attempt every Extremity, for the Defence of their dear Master and King; in whose Safety, the *Church*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of all good Men, (lest they should be enslaved to the worst of Tyrannies) were included.

All things being ready for the Assault, the Sign being given early in the Morning, by firing Heaps of Faggots and Straw, and the Discharge of Four great Guns; they fell on upon all sides. *Montague* and *Pikering*, assaulted *Lawford-Gate* with their Regiments, and enter'd it; and, being followed by *Desborough*, with the General's Regiment of Horse, routed the Defendants, and siezed upon Two and Twenty of their Cannon. Sir *Hard. Waller* with Two Regiments of Foot, fell upon the Line, betwixt the said *Port of Lawford* and the River *Frome*, and mastered it. *Raynsborough* and *Hamond* had the like Success by *Prior's-Fort*; which, after a brave Defence, (*Price* the Governour being slain) was forced,

Bristol as-
saulted.
Dec. 10.

and surren-
dered.

ced, and all the Defendants cut in Pieces. The Lines and Hedges being levelled by Pioneers, the Horse entered, and charging the King's Cavalry, occasioned a Bloody Encounter; where, *Colonel Taylor* a *Royallist*, and Major *Bethel* of the Enemies side, were sorely wounded. But, the Garrison Horse being overpowered, were obliged to secure themselves by retreating betwixt the *Great Fort* and that of *Coulston*. The Enemies Success, was not the same on the other side of the Town; for, the Wall being higher, the Defence was easier, *Welden*, who attack'd it with Four Regiments, being beaten off. The *Royallists* set the lost part of the City on Fire; which they also extinguish'd (a new Treaty being set on foot) at the Desire of *Fairfax*. And, thus *Bristol* was surrend'ed, upon harsher Conditions, than the Enemy had formerly presented: For, the Foot were allowed their Swords only; but, upon the *Prince* his Desire, and Engagement of Restitution, they had a Thousand Arms lent them for their Defence, against the Insults of the *Club-Men*. The Enemy lost about Two Thousand Men, and a few Officers in this Enterprize. Nor did the taking of this *Noble City*, and the Recovery of the Cannon, which the King had taken from *Essex* at *Lestisbiel*, which were laid here, cost them any more. Which will seem less strange, when we consider, that the King's Party was every where broken. But their Vertue was invincible, and they themselves above their Misfortunes, which they will yet abundantly testify. *Bristol* being thus taken, *Fairfax* fearing the Contagion, retires to *Bath*, a better Air, and sends his Souldiers, after so many Toils, for some Days, to fresh Quarters. In the mean time, whilst the Rebels are indulging upon his Ruines, it will be requisite to relate the Actions and Labours which the King underwent in person.

After the Fatal Battel of *Naesby*, this magnanimous,

mous, however unfortunate Prince, retired (as is *The King's Travels and Labours.* said) to *Hereford*. To add to his Calamities, as the Miserable are usually neglected, so he is now also insulted on by the degenerate *Scots Ecclesiasticks*. Who, in a Letter, most impudently admonish him, *That acknowledging his great Sins, he should seriously, and suddenly repent. How could he think, that God would bear with his fighting, against his faithfull and pious Subjects! his authorising their Murder and Slaughter by the Irish Rebels; and his permitting of the Exercise of the Mass and other abominable Idolatry? He had wearied the Patience of his Subjects, which if he persisted in, they denounce, would be his inevitable Ruine. They advise him, Not to neglect the Demands of his faithful Subjects; and that he should at length repent, and suffer the Son of God to reign over him and his Kingdoms, in the sincere Worship and Discipline of his Church, &c.* These barbarous Reproaches from a less barbarous Generation, however false, might have been in some sort born; but, to have * *Rebels pretend to Loyalty, Schismatics to Piety, and Superstitious Disciplinarians to rail against Idol Worship, where there was none, is only proper to such, who usurping the Title of God's Vicegerents, would reign and domineer over the Kings of the Earth. But, his Majesty, not to be moved with these Impertinencies, no more than the scurrillous divulging of his Cabinet, being Proof against the Malice of Calumny, as well as Fortune, after some time left Hereford, and with Three Thousand Horse hastens by Liechfield to Bewdly: Where falling upon some Troops of Scots Horse, he beats and routs them. From thence, by a swift March, he enters Derbyshire, and beat Gell at Sudbury, and Ashburnham. He thence came to Welbeck, and ravaging the associated Counties, surprising the Guard at the Gate of Huntington, enters the City, and imposing a reasonable Ransom upon it, did the Inhabitants no further Harm. He passed by Cambridge,*

* Clodius
accusat
Mæchos.

bridge, which he looked upon with a benign Eye, it being the Seat of the *Muses* and Learning. But, he fined *St. Ives* Five Hundred Pounds. And finally, passing through *Ouburne* and *Doncaster*, returned to *Oxford*. It is not to be wondred, that he obliged some Towns in his March to redeem themselves, with no great Pecuniary *Mulets*, seeing they had always been exempted from any quartering of Armies, and had perpetually contributed to the Maintenance of the Rebellion. The King had continued his Cavalcade through these Counties with so much Celerity, that he baffled the Sedulity of his Followers. And, though he had been pursued by Ten Thousand Horse, the (*Scottish* Cavalry being joined with the *English*) and that with the utmost Obstinacy, yet they could not prevent him.

The Scots
besiege
Hereford.

The *Scots*, however fattened with their Rest and Quarters, would not yet leave them, without the Allurements of Prayers, and Money. Being then paid, they were perswaded to move *Southwards*; and, having taken *Canon-frome*, a small Garrison of the King's, they marched directly for *Hereford*, and laid a formal Siege to the place. The Convention at *Westminster*, had sent General *Leven* a Jewel, valued at Five Hundred Pounds, as their Acknowledgment for his late Success, and an Incitement to greater Things. This did not a little quicken him; and, now the City is approached, mined, battered, and assaulted by his no less craving Souldiers. But, being bravely received and beaten off with great Loss, they attempted the Surrender, which they had not been able to compass by their Action and Threats, by the offer of very fair Conditions. The *Parliament* had also joined in these Demands; and, the Inhabitants of the Country round, forced by Fear, added also their desires to the rest. But, in vain; for, *Scudmore* the Governour, rejecting these Invitations with Contempt, told them, *He would deliver the City*

City to none but to the King that had entrusted him with it, or to his Majesty's Commands. And thus the Scots, *but raise it* after a sharp, though no long Siege of Five Weeks, seeing there was no good to be done, raised their Camp, and marched *Northwards*, occasioned perhaps by their Apprehension of the King's Motion from *Oxford*; or, rather, affrighted with the stupendous Victories of *Montross* in their own Country, *Rossiter* being commanded thither with Six Thousand Horse.

The King having again left *Oxford* (for, his private Affairs there, no less than his publick abroad, grew by the Distractions and Divisions in his own Court daily worse) marched to *Ludlow*, with design to relieve *Chester*, long labouring under the Pressures of a close Siege. The *Parliament*, hearing of the Kings Motion, ordered the Colonels, *Poynts* and *Rossiter*, to observe him: with orders, that in case he moved towards *Hereford*, they should act by consent with *Leven*; but, if he should go towards *Bristol*, they should then move by Communication of Counsels with General *Fairfax*, their Forces being joined, Four Thousand all Horse, follow the King close. And, the unhappy City of *London*, to promote this Design of *King-Catching*, as they called it; or, rather, their own Slavery, made a Decree in *Common-Council*, that every Member of it, should have a Horse with *Accoutrements*,

The Common-Council of London order their Members, to find each a Horse to pursue the King.

ready to join with the rest in pursuit of the King. His Majesty in the mean time, hastens towards *Chester*, and being come to *Rounton-Heath* within Two Miles of it, *Rossiter* falls with great Resolution upon the *Royallists*, who received them with no less Courage. The Fight was very hot, wherein the *Rebels* were not only disordered, but had been quite defeated, and an entire Victory obtained, but that Colonel *Jones* coming in that instant with near a Thousand Men

The Fight
at Row-
ton-heath.

Men from the Siege of *Chester*, turned the Day, by confirming their own Party, and restoring to them the Success they despaired of before. The King being overpowered with the Accession of these new-Commers, lest he should be surrounded by them, charged through them, and not without much Slaughter on both sides, recovered *Chester*. The untimely Death of the Lord *Bernard*, no less eminent for Courage and Loyalty, than illustrious for the Nobleness of his Extraction, aggravated the King's Loss, he being the Third Brother of the Duke of *Lenox*, slain in his Majesty's Quarrel in this unnatural War.

Digby and
Langdale
defeated.

The King did not stay long in *Chester*, the Enemy growing upon him after their Victory, but retired into *Wales*, still loyal to his Interest; he being a Prince however unfortunate, insuperable in Afflictions, and Superior to all Calamities. Nor did he at all despond, however harassed, trusting that the same God who from small beginnings had raised him once to an Equality with his Enemies in Power, might yet of his Goodness restore him in his good time. He then by his indefatigable Industry, and the Accession of Prince *Maurice* his Troops with some other scattered Remains, had got a considerable Body of Horse together; which he divided, and delivering Fifteen Hundred of them to *Digby* and *Langdale*, sent them with Commands, to endeavour to conduct them to *Montross*; which if these great Men had been able to have compassed, might have changed the whole Face of Affairs. He had already acted to a Prodigy, as will be hereafter declared; but, they could not reach the Borders, and Confines of both Kingdoms. For though they had broke Colonel *Wren*'s Regiment of Horse, and taken Eight Hundred Foot at *Sherburne*, and *Mylford*, they were afterwards surprised by *Copely* and *Lilburne*, who being fresh, fell upon their wearied Troops

Troops, and defeated them. *Cornaby* and *Hutton*, Two Knights, with some others were slain; and, Four Colonels, together with many Inferiour Officers, and Four Hundred Horse, fell into the Enemies Hands. The Lord *Digby's* Coach was also made a Prize, wherein amongst other Spoils, several of the King's Letters, too carelessly guarded, were found. And these, as those formerly taken at *Næsby*, were printed with the same Malice and Impudence. Nor is it to be wondred, that as they began the War with Tumults, Scandals, and all Kinds of Barbarity; so they should end it, with the same Arts, and the same Brutality. *Digby* was again routed by the *Scots* upon *Carlisle* Sands, and scarce saved himself by with-drawing with very few Attendants into the Isle of *Man*, and from thence into *Ireland*. So that this whole Party, together with its Design, was destroyed and vanished.

But to return to *Fairfax* into the *West*, where the main Stress of the War was (for, what happened in other Provinces, were rather Velitations, and Encounters of Parties, than formed Designs of Battels) after the taking of *Bristol*, the Enemy consulted what to undertake next. Many were of Opinion, they should march to the Relief of *Phymouth*; labouring under the Evils of a very long, and irksom Siege. But that Town having the Sea open, and the *Parliamentarians* abounding in shipping, having the Navy at their Disposal, it was thought more expedient, to dislodge the *Royalists* out of those Garrisons, which impeded the Commerce betwixt *London* and the *Western* Counties; and, so open a Passage for Travellers, to and fro, at Pleasure. In order to this, *Barclay-Castle*, as nearest, was first attempted. This Fortress lying betwixt *Glocester* and *Bristol*, did not only disturb the Commerce of both those Cities, but extreamly incommoded the Country on every side, with Excursions. *Fairfax* had formerly sent some Horse to hinder
I
their

Bardley-
Castle
taken by
Raynsbo-
rough.

The Devi-
zes by
Cromwell.

Tiverton
by Fairfax.

their Cavalcades ; and now Colonel *Raynsborough* is ordered with Three Regiments of Foot, to besiege and reduce them. Which he also did, having forced their Out-Works, and particularly the Steeple and Church which overlooked the Castle. For, Sir *Charles Lucas*, however brave, being unequal to the Enemy in Power, was forced to surrender ; which he did, considering the State of Affairs, upon no contemptible Conditions. In the mean Time, *Cromwell* took the *Devizes*, without any great Opposition ; as also *Laicock*, with the same Facility, the Souldiers being permitted to march away with their Arms. And now *Fairfax* commands him, with Three Regiments of Horse, and Four of Foot, to reduce *Winchester*, and *Basing-House*, the Seat of the *Marquis of Winchester*, whilst he himself marches with the Rest of his Army *Westward*. His Souldiers were mustered, and paid, and new cloathed. Being come to *Chard*, he was advertised, that the *Royallists* had a design to break through his Army, and join with the King. Which seemed neither incredible, nor unreasonable ; for, that being effected, the Enemy would be obliged either to divide his Forces, which might expose both Parties, or follow with his whole Army, and so leave the Two fertile Provinces of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* entirely in the Prince's Hands. He therefore lay in the Field all Night, and forced the advancing *Royallists* to retreat over the *Isca*. *Goring* had fallen into the Enemies Quarters near *Chard*, with Success, having slain some, and taken about Sixty. But, *Fairfax* closely pursuing them, took *Tiverton*, as also the Castle and Church, by storm, occasioned by a casual Shot which broke the Chain of the *Draw-bridge*, by which Accident the Passage was immediately seized, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, the Governour, and the whole Garrison being made Prisoners.

The

The Winter being far advanced, and the *Rebels* wearied with so many Toils, thought it neither fit nor safe to attempt the *Royallists* further; or besiege *Exeter*, well fortified, and strengthened, with a Garrison of Five Thousand Men. They therefore resolve to block up the City at a Distance; and raising some Redoubts, and Skonfes, upon the River *Chyssa*, within Command of each other, though Three Miles from the City, put Guards into them, whereby they might, with no great Force, extreamly disturb the Communication betwixt the Town and Country. They might have done the same on the other side of the *Isca*, and so at once have shut up the Garrison from all Commerce with the adjacent Neighbourhood; which they also afterward did.

Cromwell having possessed himself of the City of *Winchester*, without Opposition, battered the Castle with Six Cannon, and made a Breach in the Walls. Which being observed by the *Lord Ogle* the Governor, who thinking every Defence in this declining State of Affairs superfluous, beat a Parley. And, being admitted to treat, having compounded for the Security of his Garrison, he surrender'd this Fortress, however furnished with all kinds of Military Provisions for a long Siege. But, the *Marquis* fell by a nobler, however more unhappy Destiny; for, *Cromwell* having battered his Works, assaulted them with Four Battalions, and passing the Moat, and Ramparts, brake down the Gates; and so, however bravely opposed, forced his Passage into the House, and became Master of it. The *Marquis*, *Sir Robert Peak*, with others of Quality, with immense Spoils, were the Reward of the victorious. There were a hundred slain, a *Girl* of a masculine Courage being found amongst the stript. And thus this *Fortress of Loyalty*, having baffled very many Attempts of the *Rebels*, for its Reduction

hitherto,

hitherto, fell now by the uncontrouled Fortune of *Cromwell*. And, being first pillaged, was afterwards burnt to the Ground, out of spite, rather than any advantage to the Conquerours. *Langford* fearing the like Fate, prevented it by a timely Surrender. And now, the Passages being cleared betwixt *London*, and the more distant Provinces of the *West*, *Cromwell* rejoins his Forces to *Fairfax's* Army.

The Prince
sends to
Fairfax a-
bout Peace.

During these Traverses, the *Prince of Wales* had sent to *Fairfax*, his Desires for a safe Conduēt for the *Lords Hopton*, and *Culpeper*, to go to the King, with design to endeavour to compose the Differences betwixt his Majesty and the Two Houses. But, *Fairfax* returned Answer, That it not being of his Province to treat of Peace, he had sent his Highness's Letters to the Parliament, from whom an Answer was to be expected. *Goring* having sent the Colonels *Scroop* and *Philips*, had attempted the same before, proposing, That by the united Force of both Armies, they should compel both King and Parliament to an Accomodation. The like Conjunction of Forces had formerly been motioned to *Effex*, which was then rejected by him, as now by his Successor.

Fairfax
surprizes
Three of
Went-
worth's
Regiments
at Bovey.

All hopes of Peace being vanished, the Prince solicitous for *Exeter*, draws his Army, consisting of about Seven Thousand, to *Okehampton*. His Highness had been informed, that the *Rebels* Forces were very much diminished by Death and Diseases, which gave him room to hope for some favourable Occasion to attempt upon them. But, being suddenly after assured, that they were daily furnished with new Levies, and fresh Supplies (which was true,) he changed his mind, and with-drew his Forces to a greater Distance. But, the Enemy advancing, surprized Three of *Wentworth's* Regiments at *Bovey*. The Troopers (except Fifty, and a Major, who were taken) escaped by Favour of the Night, but they

they left near Four Hundred Horses behind them.

Fairfax was careful to advertise *Plymouth* of his Advance, and the *Royallists* Retreat, which was also relieved by the drawing off of the Besiegers. This Place had been very long blocked up by Land; and having been often bravely attempted, by Sir *Richard Greenville*, did defend it self with no less Bravery. For, the Sea always open, and the *Rebels* Masters of it, they could not be forced. *Dartmouth* was the

Dartmouth taken.

next Trophy of the Conquerours, which they took by Assault, without the Loss of scarce one single Man, though the Town was strengthened with a Hundred pieces of Ordnance. Nor was the Slaughter greater on the Defendants side, Sir *Hugh Pollard* the Governour, the Earl of *Newport*, *Seymour*, *Denham*, and about Eight Hundred, being taken Prisoners. . . . *Carey*, and his Officers, upon the Delivery of a Fort which he guarded, was permitted his Liberty, and the Souldiers had also leave to retire every Man to his own Home. The *Cornish-men*, who they were many, had each Two Shillings allowed for their Journey; not absurdly bestowed, to tempt the rest of their Countymen, who were now the only considerable part of the King's Forces.

The *Rebels* marched thence to *Totnes*, and afterwards returned to the Siege of *Exeter*. Sir *Hardres Waller* had commanded there; and, now it is resolved, to attempt the forcing of the Place, it having hitherto been but block'd up with Forts and Redoubts. They therefore commanded Ladders to be brought out of the Country, for an Assault; until upon fresh intelligence of the Prince's Preparations and Design to relieve the Besieged, they again leaving *Waller* with Three Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, to continue the Blockade, moved with the Rest of the Army to meet the *Royallists*. The *Lord Hopton* commanded the King's Forces.

For, the *Lord Goring* being gone for *France*, and having entrusted his own Troops to the *Lord Wentworth's* Conduct; the Government of the whole was devolved upon this excellent Personage: Who now had, with Three Thousand Horse and Four Thousand Foot, possessed himself of *Torrington*, with a Resolution to defend the Town, and to hazard there the Extremity of War. *Fairfax* being advertised of all this by his Spies, quickens his March: and, to give the *Royallists* no time to fortifie themselves, made all imaginable haste. *Hopton* had lined the neighbouring Avenues with Musqueteers, which he again quitted upon the Enemies Advance, who also possessed the said Places: Where they fix'd their Station, by reason of the Darkness, until a Noise in the Town, creating an Opinion that the *Royallists* were dislodging, obliged them to send a Party to see what was the matter. These Discoverers being received with a Volley of Shot, were seconded by a Reserve, and they again by a Third and Fourth Party; so that Supplies being successively sent from both sides, both Armies were at length engaged. The Passage into the Town was barricado'd up, where the Fight was very sharp, at push of Pike, and Butt-Ends of Musquets; but that being gained, the Encounters in the Street were no less brave. The *Royallists* had Twice repelled the Enemy, and being as often beat back themselves, were forced at length to quit their Ground, to the more numerous Assailants. *Hopton* in Person, very conspicuous, and well mounted, brought up the Rear of his Horse; but, was not able to save his Foot, whereof scarce Six Hundred escaped. The Horse, by Benefit of the Night, and Knowledge of the Ways, did well-nigh all save themselves by Flight. Four Hundred as well Commons as Gentlemen were taken; of which, near Two Hundred were blown up with the Church. *Hopton* had left

Fourscore

The Fight
at Tor-
rington.

Fourscore Barrels of Powder in it, which being fired by Accident, or by one *Watts*, as it was said, hired thereto for Thirty Pieces of Gold, I will not determine. But however it happened, very many of the Rebels perished with it; the Town was miserably shaken, and Terror and Destruction were scattered every where by the Dreadfulness of the Noise, and the Vibration of the Ruines of the Temple. The Enemy following the Chace, forced the Cavaliers over the River *Tamar*; and, advancing forwards, beat Colonel *Basset* out of *Launceston*, which they also possessed.

The *Prince of Wales* admonished by the frequent Misfortunes of his Party, and seeing, after this last Defeat, no possibility of renewing the War, took shipping at *Truro*. And, that he might withdraw himself, from these barbarous and bloody Enemies to his Life, and Fame; and being attended on by the Lord *Capel*, Lord *Culpeper*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, since Lord *Chancellor of England*, sailed to the *Isles of Scilly*, and thence into *France*; reserving himself, by the Care of Providence, for the signal Restitution of his enslaved Kingdoms, to their former Glory. *Fairfax* did not omit to improve this Opportunity of the Prince's Retreat, by inviting *Hopton*, by honourable Conditions, to disband his Forces, as being abandoned and left to himself. The Greatness of the thing, kept him in suspense for some Time. It grieved him to the Soul, to see his King, and dearest Lord, deprived of so many brave Men, and such a gallant Body of Horse, and that by his own Act. But, to conserve them, seemed morally impossible; for, there was no Help to be expected from Abroad, and he himself shut up within the compass of Six Miles, in the Streights of *Cornwall*, surrounded by the Sea, and a victorious, hostile Army. Nor, did he know whither to go, in case he had broke through; the Ways being ob-

The Lord
Hopton
disbands
his Army.

fructed with Trees, cut down and laid cross them on purpose; the Passages every where kept with strong Guards; and what was more dismal, the King's Affairs were under such sad Circumstances, and so desperate, that we were deprived of the very Solace of Hope. In this Extremity, it was determined, to lay by our now useless Arms, and submit to the Necessity of our Fate. A Treaty was therefore entered upon, by Commissioners from both sides, who met at *Tressilian-Bridge*; and, after a great Contestation, concluded a Dissolution of the *Royal-Army*. The Officers, each according to his Quality, were permitted the Enjoyment of their Arms, Horses and Equipage. But, the common Troopers, were obliged to deliver theirs, receiving every one Twenty Shillings in Lieu of them. All had their Bag, Baggage, and Liberties secured to them, and Permission to return to their Homes, or to pass into Foreign Countries at pleasure. The Army being disbanded, and the Garrisons thereby excluded from all Hopes of Relief, did likewise fall. *Exeter* the Chief City of the *West*, surrender'd upon honourable Terms. *Barnstable* followed, as also the remaining Garrisons, upon Demand. And now *Fairfax* having subdued the *West*, marched with his victorious Army towards *Oxford*. Whilst he is on his way, it may not be from the Purpose, to relate what happened in other Parts of the Kingdom. Which I hitherto designingly omitted, not willing to interrupt the Progress of this *Western* Expedition. Being content, to deliver the greater Actions in their Order, rather than to distract them, with a regard to the Things themselves, more than the Times they were acted in, though that also will appear in the Margent.

After the Defeat of *Digby* and *Langdale*, which we have mentioned, the King had continued for some time at *Newark*, until wearied with the Dis-

sensions

ensions of his Party, he was necessitated to depart. The *Lord Gerrard*, *Sir Richard Willis*, and others had deserted his *Majesty*; and, the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice* having capitulated with *Poynts*, for Passes to go beyond Sea, which was assented to by the pretended *Parliament*, were upon the point of abandoning him. The Dispute was about *Digby*, who being accused by these Dissenters with more Fervor than Duty, considering the Times, found an Advocate of his Innocency in the King, and *Bellasis* the Governour. Hereupon, his *Majesty* with Six Hundred Horse came to *Oxford*, where being entertained with heavy Countenances, and a lugubrious Account of Affairs, he replied with undaunted Constancy; *That Three Years ago, he had been in yet a lower Condition than at present. The same God, who from such despicable Beginnings had render'd him great and formidable, did live and reign still, to whose Goodness he also recommended the Care of his present abject Estate.* But however confident he seemed to be, he was, as is usual in great Calamities, too much neglected by many. And, though he daily performed, whatever could be expected from a brave and prudent Prince, yet nothing succeeded, by reason of the perpetual Distraction of his *Nobles*, his Officers and Counsellours, agitated by the Infelicities of the present Condition of Affairs; or rather, actuated by the secret Dispensations of Providence. Nor was he long permitted to reside there, the *Lord Ashley* having been defeated and taken at *Stow*. He had drawn a Body of near Two Thousand out of several Garrisons, evacuated for that Purpose; which were the last Field-Forces that appeared for the King. So, that the Remains being forced to save themselves in their Fortifications, were, since there was no Success to be expected from Abroad, easily divested of them also.

Distractions among the Royalists at Newark.

Ashley beat at Stow.

BOOK IV.

The King leaves Oxford, and goes to the Scots Army. Hereford is surprized, and Chester surrender'd. Oxford besieged, and taken. The other Royal Garrisons follow. Massey's Forces disbanded. Confests with the Scots. Their barbarous Usage of the King. They sell him. He is imprisoned, in Holmbey-House. The History of the Scots Rebellion, and valorous Actions of Montross. Independency triumphant. The Army mutinies, and seize upon the King at Holmbey. They court him; but deal treacherously with him. He flies to the Isle of Wight.

FArfax had sent Ireton with a Body of Horse, to hinder the Excursions of the Oxonians, and to invest the City with his Troops, whilst he himself followed with the main Army, in order to a formal Siege. This obliged the King to think of a Retreat. He had attempted all ways of Peace, and invited those barbarous Tyrants at Westminster to it, though neglected, by near Twenty Messages. They refused a Pass for the Duke of Lenox with Propositions, though the King had (in vain) conjured their Assent; they being then, as they said themselves, upon others, to be sent to his Majesty. They also flatly refuse the Scots Commissioners, who pressed for a Treaty, pretending to great interruption in their Affairs, by the delays and difficulties, the joint Councils of both Kingdoms produced. And therefore vote, That the King's Answer shall be desired to their Propositions without Treaty. And being indeed weary of the Scots, they also voted, That they do intend to carry on the War of Ireland with the Forces of England; and, that the Scots Forces should be called away.

In

In their Debate about the Propositions to be sent *The Parlia-*
the King, they think it time to gratifie their *Grandees* ^{ment design}
dees; and, in order to it, Vote, *That Sir Thomas* ^{to gratifie}
Fairfax be made a Baron, with Five Thousand Pound ^{their Grand-}
per Annum settled upon him; and, that his Father be
made an Earl; Cromwel a Baron, and two Thou-
sand five Hundred Pound per Annum; Northumber-
land, Essex, Warwick, Pembroke, Dukes; Salis-
bury, Manchester, Marquesses; Roberts, Say, Wil-
louby of Taram, Wharton, Howard, Earls; Sir
William Waller a Baron; Hazelrigg, Stapelton,
Barons, each Two Thousand Pound per An. Vané, a
Baron; Brown, fifteen hundred Pounds per An. and
Skippon a Thousand Pound. Thus they were
dividing the spoil, whilst the good King offered,
provided they would suffer his Friends to live securely
at home, whatever the most nefarious of Crimi-
nals could desire, to wit, *An Act of Oblivion for*
what is past; the Fruition of all they had acquired;
Accession to Offices and Dignities. And, because they
might have no colour or pretence for Jealousies
and Suspicions, *he would immediately disband all his*
Forces; and, would not only return to his Parliament,
but also ratifie whatever they should judge necessary, for
restoring his afflicted Kingdoms to their former Tran-
quillity. But, all this was absolutely refused by
these modest Men, who at length laying the Veil
of Hypocrisie aside, did not blush to declare to
the whole World, That there was nothing less
in their thoughts, than what they had so often
solemnly declared, promised, protested, vowed,
and sworn to perform; which was, *To rescue the*
King out of the hands of Evil Counsellors, and to
bring him back to his Parliament. Nay, now they
take care by *Proclamation*, that he shall not come;
and command their *Militia-Officers*, in case he at-
tempted it, to secure his Person, and detain all his
followers Prisoners. The King perceiving him-
self

self in such unusuall streights, this potent Monarch of three Kingdoms, and sometimes Supream Arbitrator of Peace, and War, knows not now where to lay his Head.

*Hæu ! faciles dare summa Deos , eademque tueri
Difficiles !*

He therefore, reassumes his Thoughts of a Re-
The King treat. Being rejected by the *Parliament*, he had a
leaves Ox- design to throw himself into the Arms of the Ar-
ford, and my ; but, being refused by these also, he puts him-
goes to the self into disguise. And, accompanied only with two
Scots Army. Attendants, *Apsburnham* of his Bed-Chamber, and
Hudson a Divine, he left Oxford, and conveyed
 himself to the Scots Army, then at the Siege of
 Newark. Monsieur Montrueil, the French Resident,
 then in the Scotch Camp, had stipulated for securi-
 ty, and equitable conditions for his Majesty, who
 upon that confidence, and the assurance he had entertained
 May 1646. of his Countrymen's Loyalty (as he wrote to the Mar-
 quess of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) he cast
 himself into their Protection. Somethought, he was
 gone into Wales, still true, however oppressed, to
 his Interests: Others, that he was withdrawn in-
 to Scotland, to the renowned Montross; and not a few
 were of opinion, that he was conceal'd in the Ci-
 ty: Which, the Parliament so far believed, that
 they declared by beat of Drum, and sound of
 Trumpet, That what Person soever shall harbour or
 conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the
 King's Person, and shall not reveal it immediately to
 the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against
 as a Traytor to the Commonwealth, forfeit his Estate,
 and die without Mercy. A while after, contrary to
 the opinion of all Men, he was rumoured to be in
 the Scottish Camp; which was also signified to the
 Grandees at Westminster, by the Commander in
 chief

chief of the *Scots Army*. The pretended *Parliament*, as soon as they were informed of the King's Departure, and were assured of his being in the *Scotch Army*, desire and require of the *Scotch Commissioners at London*, and of the *Scots General in the Camp*, That they would deliver his Majesty into their Hands, to be secured in *Windfor-Castle*, until the *Parliament* should otherwise dispose of him. Moreover, they barbarously Vote, That the King, by going to the *Scots Army*, did prolong the War against the *Parliament*, and foment the Discord betwixt the Two Nations. But, the *Scots* not ignorant of the value of their purchase, gave no Ear to their Dear Brethren; but, breaking up with their Army (a Rumour being spread that *Cromwell* was advancing towards them with all his Horse) marched in haste to *Newcastle* with the King, affirming, That as his Majesty came to their Camp of his own Accord, so he followed it with the same Liberty, the Army neither persuading, nor opposing him. And, this was a place garriſoned with their own Soldiery, and near the Confines of their own Country.

The *Royalists* being, as is related, shut up in their Fortresses, and languishing with the despair of Relief; some of them taking occasion from their adverse Fortune, surrender'd upon demand: Whilst others, defended themselves till they were forced, as Col. *Stanhop* at *Shelford*; or famished out, as the *Heroick Countess of Darby* at *Lathome-House*, which she had kept two Years, against all the Insults of the *Rebels*. But, the Fate of *Hereford* was more dismal; which, having baffled and beat the *Scots* from her Walls, was not able to prevent the surprisal of a less considerable Enemy. The Colonels *Morgan* and *Birch*, with Two Thousand Men drawn out of *Gloucester* and other neighbouring Garrisons, by the favour of an obscure Night, and a quick March, accomplished the Enterprize.

For,

Hereford
miserably
surprized.

For, having sent Six choice Souldiers, with a Lieutenant, who pretended to be a *Constable*, all in Country-Habits, early to the Gate; the said fictitious *Constable*, calling to the Guard, told them, *That he was come thither with his Men, according to the Governour's Command, to break the Ice in the Moat, expecting only till the Bridge was let down.* Being admitted with their Rural Instruments, which they carried for show, they immediately making use of the Arms they had under their Clothes, in an instant seized the Guard, killing some few, and secured the Gate, letting in a Hundred and Fifty more, who were in Ambuscade near Hand. The rest of the Party not far off following, and intent upon the Occasion, seized upon the Port and City, and in it upon the Governour, and a great many Persons of Quality, with immense Riches and Plunder.

Feb. 3.
1645.

Chester,
makes a
brave de-
fense.

The Misfortune of *Hereford*, was followed by the Surrender of *Chester*, a Place of no less Consequence. This City had been long besieged; for, the *Rebels*, under the Conduct of *Jones* and *Lan- shian*, had surprized the Suburbs the preceding September. And, Sir *William Brereton*, joining them with greater Forces, attempted the Town by Assault, having made a considerable Breach. But, they were beat off with much Loss, *Venables* being slain in the Action. This Success added so much Courage, and Confidence to the besieged, that they did not despair of being able to defend themselves, and disturb the Enemy. In the mean time, the King solicitous for the Relief of this important Place, had attempted it, but unsuccessfully; for, being defeated, as is already mentioned, at *Romton-Heath*, his Majesty not willing to be shut up in a besieged Place, retreated into *Wales*. The *Lord Byron*, a Person of great Honour, and Loyalty, was Governour of this considerable Garrison, who no whit dismayed after the

the late Misfortune, however pressed by the Enemy, omitted no Duty of a brave Commander. *Monts*, after the King's Departure, fierce with his Victory, did not doubt to carry the City by Force, not being able to gain it by Threats. For, beating the Walls with their Cannon from Three several Batteries at once, they made Three considerable Breaches; which however repaired by the laudable Bravery of our Women, were valiantly assaulted by them, especially that next the River, though repelled with great Loss. Sir *William Byron*, the Governour's Brother, had got Four Hundred Horse with Provisions, which he attempted to relieve the Place with; but, he was beaten, and himself made a Prisoner near *Holt*. Neither was Sir *William Vaughan* more fortunate, although followed by Two Thousand Horse; for, he was forced by *Colonel Mitton*, with additional Troops from the Siege, near *Denbigh*, after several sharp Encounters, to a Retreat. The Enemy returning victorious, lay a more close Siege to the City; for, they now also encamped on the *Welsh Side*, which had hitherto been kept open. So, that the Place being shut up all round, the besieged in time spent all their fresh Provisions; and, not long after, their Patience. Whereupon they, especially the Citizens, began to be very uneasie, although their Mutterings, did not surpass the Modesty of Words; for, as they had several times bravely sustained the Insults of the Enemy, so they did not suffer themselves to be overcome with ordinary Necessities. The Garrison consisted most of *Welsh*, the Officers being of the same Nation, resolved to suffer all Extremities for their King, rather than the imperious Government of the *Rebels*. Nor were the Citizens less signal in their Valour and Constancy, until their whole stock of Provisions was spent. Horse-flesh and other Viands less consistent with Nature, were now accompted

accompted Delicacies ; but, those likewise failing, they were necessitated to desire a Remedy for so many Evils, in a Surrender ; which seemed worse than the Disease it self, at least to the brave. They therefore besiege the Governour, and humbly intreat him, since there was no visible Hopes of Relief, that he would be pleased to treat with the Enemy for their Preservation. *Brereton* demanded the same, at the same Time by a Trumpeter : demonstrating, *the King's Forces to have been beaten out of the Field every where, and their Remains shut up in Garrisons ; so that, there was no kind of Relief to be expected. He would notwithstanding, and did, offer very reasonable Conditions, provided they did not refuse them, whilst they might have them ;* which he the more easily consented to, because he much desired to preserve that Place, he was himself, upon its Rendition, to Command. And, *Byron* did not seem altogether averse to the Supplications of the Citizens, or the Invitation of this Civil Enemy ; yet, he delayed the matter, upon a Report, that *Colonel Vaughan*, having joined the *Lord Ashley* and some Recruits of *Welsh* and *Irish*, designed again the Succour of the Place. But, being uncertain of these Preparations, and shut up from all Commerce from Abroad ; he sent the *Author* of this Relation, to see what was to be expected from that Conjunction of the *Royalists* ; resolving to attend his Return. He, having broke through the Enemies Quarters, with Five and Twenty Horse, found all these Reports to be false ; which, having signified by Fires from the highest Tower of *Flint-Castle*, as was agreed upon, designed himself to return by Water into the City again ; which he might possibly have done, by Favour of the quick Tides, if he had not been hindered by great Sholes of Ice, which filled the River ; so that with much ado he recovered *Flint* again. He also notified this Misfortune by Fires to the besieged, which

which being perceived, considering every Delay now superfluous, the City was delivered up upon honourable Terms. The Garrison was led by the Governour into *Wales*, where it was dismissed; but, he shut himself in *Caernarven*, where being again besieged, he was again forced to surrender upon Conditions, and to retire from that War, wherein he had behaved himself with no less Valour, than Misfortune.

Fairfax being before this time advanced with his Army within sight of *Oxford*, lay down before it; and, having observed the Situation of it, made a large Quarter capable of receiving Three Thousand Men upon *Hadington-Hill*. Which he also fortified very well; and, drawing a Line from thence round, he strengthened it with other Forts, appointing the Colonels, *Raynsborough*, *Lambert*, and *Herbert* to command them. Whereby the City was entirely shut up. The Enemy had seriously considered in a Council of War, how they might best render themselves Masters of this important Place, and at length agreed unanimously, that it being well fortified, it was safer to famish, than force it. They judged, that the only way to carry it, was to leave it to its own Necessities, and Dissentions. They knew, the City was fortified after the modern Fashion, the Bastion and Flanks mutually defending each other. They saw, that the Rivers *Isis* and *Charwell*, did with their Inundations cover Three Parts of the Town; and that the Fourth, which pointed to the *North*, was approachable but on that side, though otherwise fortified with Two Lines, and strongly defended by the Colleges, appearing like so many Castles. To all this, the Garrison consisted of Five Thousand Veteran Souldiers, and the Flower of the King's Infantry; provided with all Kind of Stores for many Months, and commanded by Sir *Thomas Glenham*,

K

Famous

Famous for his defending of *York*, and *Carlisle*; the latter of which he had kept above Ten Months against the main Forces of *Scotland*, suffering well-nigh a *Sanguine Famine* in its Defence. Nor did then quit it, but upon equitable Terms, for the Security of his Garrison. At *York* also, he had extorted good Conditions from their victorious Armies. These things being considered, *Fairfax* invites him also to treat, with very large Offers, which he seemed to hearken to; requiring First, permission to acquaint his *Majesty*, and to know his Pleasure therein. This being denied, Commissioners were some time after appointed to treat on both sides. But, they could not agree; for, the Terms the *Royallists* demanded, were so high, that *Fairfax* transferred them to the *Parliament*, by which they were rejected as incongruous; and new Orders sent to the *General*, to reduce the *City* with all his Power and Skill. But, the Treaty was after some time reassumed, though no Cessation intervened, neither did any Military Action happen, worthy the recital; and, after some Disputes, agreed upon, being comprehended in Six and Twenty Articles. *Faringdon* was likewise surrender'd upon the same Terms; for, Sir *George Lisle*, the Governour of that Fortress, being then in *Oxford*, was comprehended in the *Oxford-Pacification*. The chief of the Articles were; That *Oxford*, with the *Castle*, *Forts*, *Works*, *Arms*, *Cannon*, and all *Provisions of War*, should be delivered to *Sir Thomas Fairfax's Possession*, on the 24th of *January*.

Oxford
surrender'd,
Jan. 24th
1646.

The *Duke of York*, received, and treated, according to his *Dignity*; should be permitted to go to *London* with his *Family*, and continue there with the *King's Children*, until his *Majesty* should otherwise dispose of him. The *Princes Rupert and Maurice*, with their *Train*, not exceeding *Seventy Persons*, should in *Six Months* depart out of the *Kingdom*. The *Seals and Sword of State*, should be lock'd up in a *Chest*, and secured in
the

the publick Library. The Governour, Colonels, and all other Officers and Souldiers, should be permitted to march with their Horses, Arms, Standards, flying Colours, Musquets and Pistols loaden, Match burning at both ends, &c. (the usual Solace of the vanquished) Fifteen Miles which way they pleased, where the private Souldiers should lay down their Arms, and then, at their choice, either return to their Homes, or dispose of themselves into Foreign Service. The Nobles, Peers, Gentlemen, and all others of what *Quality* soever, should not be obliged to compound for above Two Years Revenues of their Estates. The Chancellour, Masters, Professors, Students, &c. of the University, should enjoy their Possessions, Customs, Institutions, Privileges, and Government, without Disturbance. The Citizens should also enjoy all their Immunities and Freedoms, nor be burthened with a Garrison, or enquartering of Souldiers, but upon great Necessity. The Kings Household-Servants, shall, together with all his Household-Stuff, be conveyed to Hampton-Court, where they shall continue until his Majesty shall otherwise dispose of them. To conclude, Immunity for what was pass'd, was granted to every Individual; and that no Man should be questioned, for any thing done during the War, or the present Siege. And thus, this Seat of Loyalty and Learning, where the King had kept his Court during the Troubles, fell with the Fate of the Kingdom; whose Example and Fortune, the remaining Royal Garrisons did readily follow: the which, to gratifie the Reader, we will also mention, though not without Reluctancy.

Raynsborough had stormed Woodstock not without Woodstock great Loss, which Place notwithstanding was afterwards surrender'd to him. Banbury stoop'd to the Banbury. same Fate, however bravely defended for a long time by Sir William Compton, and signalized with several Slaughters of the Rebels. Radcot was delivered by Palmer; and, Bostol-House by another

Worcester
and Wal-
lingford,
Ragland,
&c.

ther *Compton*. But, nothing was more sensible, than the Loss of *Newark*, which had been defended by the *Lord Bellasis*, with Conduct and Valour, against the united Forces of the *English* and *Scots*, until delivered up to *Poynts* upon the King's Order, now in the *Scots Army*. *Worcester* held out till the Surrender of *Oxford*, and then veil'd. *Wallingford* submitted with the same Facility, but better Conditions. *Ragland*, was kept, during the whole War, by the *Marquess of Worcester* (a Man of great Parts and one who had greatly obliged the King) who, however Bed-ridden, had an active Soul, which made him maintain the Place, till there was not a Garrison left to go to, upon the Rendition. Nor did he yet part with it, till *Fairfax* himself came to receive it. The Lord *Charles Somerset*, his second Son, Commanded under him, who had also signalized himself in many Rencounters during the War, but all failing, was forced to surrender, the Marquess sacrificing his own Liberty to the freedom of his Soldiers. *Pendennis*, involved in the same fate, was forced to submit to the same necessity, being delivered up by Colonel *Arundel*. There remained yet some few Castles in *North Wales*, which had the honour to hold out longest in this Scene of Blood. *Conway* was taken by force by Colonel *Milton*, and the *Archbishop of York*, who sacrificed the honour of his *Robe* and *Loyalty* to his *Ambition* and *Revenge*. *Ludlow* was delivered, as also *Litchfield*, to *Brereton* upon *Chester-Articles*. The *Iles of Scylly* ran the same fortune. The *Dutch* had much desired the Possession of them, for the convenience of Navigation, and offered great Sums for them. But Sir *Jo. Greenville*, the worthy Governour, now Earl of *Bath*, prudently chose, rather to deliver them to the *English Rebels*; being not ignorant, that if annexed to *England*, they might one day return to their obedience; and duty to their *Natural Prince* again.

again. Some time after, *Holt-Castle*, and those of *Harlegh* and *Denbigh* (in which last place, the Author of these *Commentaries*; besides many other Gentlemen, was besieged) after long and tedious expectation of some good from the *North* (tho' contrary to the Proverb) closed the last Act of our unnatural Tragedy.

as also Denbigh and Harlegh, the two last Scenes of this War, were delivered up.

Omne malum ab Aquilone.

The *Royallists* being wholly subdued, it pleased the *Parliament*, the *Independant Faction* in the *House* being paramount, to order *Fairfax* their General, to go and disband *Massey's* Forces; being Five and Twenty Hundred, all Horse. The pretext was very plausible, the easing of the publick charge of the Treasury; and, 'twas therefore perhaps, that they allowed them but six weeks Pay, whereas they had many Months due to them. This considerable Service being done, *Fairfax* came to *London*, where he was received by the *Militia* of the City in Arms; by the *Speakers* of both *Houses*, with Congratulatory Speeches and Thanks; and, by the *Court* of *Aldermen* and *Common-Council*, with great Assentation and Flattery.

Massey's Forces disbanded.

The King at *Newcastle*, being no less prosecuted and afflicted by the *Scots*, to whom he had betaken himself for *Sanctuary*, than by the *Parliament*, which he had escaped, was yet constant to himself. And, to use his own words in his Divine Soliloquies, Not to be compelled by any hardship, to renounce his Honour, or depart from his Judgment: Not that he would peremptorily deny, what was fit to be granted; but lest he might yield to that, which both Reason and Religion commanded to deny. As soon as he was come to *Newcastle*, *Leven* commanded by Proclamation, That no *Papists* or *Delinquents* (that is, any who was Loyal or Faithful to the King) should be permitted to approach him. And it was moreover cautioned, That no Soldiers, or Officers, should contract any commerce of Friendship, or Civility, with *Malignants*

The King prosecuted by the Scots at Newcastle.

(that is, such as were addicted to his Majesty.)

Contests
berwixt the
Independ-
ants and
Scots.

But, the *Independant Grandees* did fret and fume, that the King was detained by the *Scots*, their *Mercenaries*, and *Hirelings*, as they termed them, as being nourish'd by their Pay. Affirming further, *That the Kingdom of Scotland had no right, or joint Interest in disposing of the Person of the King, in the Kingdom of England.* Hence they come to Threats, and Vote, *That they have no more Occasion for their Assistance, the Kingdom being no longer able to bear them.* Yea, they took care to publish to the World by *Declaration*, their Rapines, Extortions, Cruelties and Errors. The *Scots*, on the other side, pretending the *Laws of Nature*, of *Nations*, and *Hospitality*, affirm, *That it is in no Kind permitted them, to deliver up the King, and especially their own King, to any whosoever against his Will, His Majesty having refuged himself under their Power, of his own Accord.* But, lest they might altogether displease their *Dear Brethren*, they force the King to send Orders to his Governours, to deliver such Places as they had yet in their Power, to the *Parliament*; to the *Marquess of Ormond*, not to conclude any Treaty with the *Irish*; and, to *Montross*, to disband all his Forces in *Scotland*. These things being extorted from the King, they also would wrest his Assent, to the *Parliament's Imperious Propositions*, which they sent to *Newcastle* to him, viz. *That he should ravish the Solemn League and Covenant; abolish Episcopacy; deliver the Power of the Sword into the Hands of his Enemies; and exclude the Peers made by him, with several others of his chief Friends, from Pardon, &c.* They had themselves, not as yet corrupted with *English Gold*, condemned many of these Propositions, which they advance now with Menaces; lest both Kingdoms should agree, he refusing, to settle Peace and Religion without him, to his, and his Posterity's irrecoverable Loss. Nor did they thus terrifie this mag-

magnanimous Prince, who chose rather to expose his Crowns and Scepters, than his Honour and his Religion; and to see himself and Posterity, divested of the Imperial Dignity of Kings, by the violence of others, than his own Act, by a tame Subscription to the unjust demands of his Enemies.

Montrois
disbands by
the King's
Command.

The Scots had deputed Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Crawford, and others, to the King (al- tho' their Parliament had Voted, *That he should not come into Scotland*, declaring it to be contrary to their agreement with the *English*, and the Treaty,) to perswade, exhort, warn, and urge his Assent to the Covenant: And that he would be pleased also, to approve and enact the *English* Propositions. These were followed by Delegates from their Synod, denouncing, in case he were refractory, *the Wrath of God against him, and the hate of his Subjects*. Some of these were appointed to remove his Scruples, and clear his doubts, whereof one being admitted to Preach before him, after several bitter Invectives in the Pulpit, his Sermon being finished, he commanded the fifty second Psalm to be sung, *Why dost thou Tyrant boast?* &c. But the King perceiving his malicious Reflection, unexpectedly stood up, and ordered the fifty sixth Psalm, *Have Mercy Lord on me I pray*, to be sung. Which the People, neglecting the Parson, unanimously did. Nor were the Fortunes of David and Charles much unlike (the one being detained by the *Philistines* at Gath, and the other by the Scots at Newcastle) when this Psalm was composed by the Royal Prophet, and sung by the Royal Sufferer.

The Scots
barbarous
usage of the
King.

But now the main Controversie amongst the Rebels, was, about the disposal of the King's Person: Until the Scots moved by Contumelies, and the Sarcasms of the Cromwellists, and, perceiving the Parliament, although they had conquered England, did not disband, were more inclined to agree with them; and

They sell
him.

perhaps softened by the *Parliament's* offers, after some previous formal disceptations, to heighten the Price of their Treachery, they at length resolved to deliver him up: And, he was delivered to the *English* Rebels, by his *native unnatural Subjects* of *Scotland*, to whom he had fled for Security, with all the circumstances of Irreligion, of Impiety, of Perjury, of Treason, and of detestable Avarice; being sold for Two hundred Thousand Pounds. Which they having received, and evacuated their Garrisons in *England*, they returned with this Reward of their Iniquity, into their own Country. But, with a Curse also; for, it is observable, That after that time, they did never thrive, nor nothing they undertook prosper.

He is im-
prisoned in
Holmby,
and cruelly
used.

There had indeed been some attempts made for the King's escape. But, they were all prevented by the vigilancy of his *cruel Keepers*; *Leven* assuring the Parliament, *That he would, according to their desire, take care that his Majesty depart not away*. And he was as good as his word; for, his *Majesty* having changed his Keepers, being, as he had truly said, *Bought and Sold*, and now in the hands of his bloodiest Enemies, was carried to *Holmby-House*, not far from *Nae/ly*, where he had so unfortunately fought, that he might be perpetually tormented with the sight of that odious Companion. Nor was he less perplex'd within doors, not being permitted to enjoy a freedom in his Solitude. His Friends, and his Chaplains (which a common Civility would not refuse to the most Criminal) being inhumanly kept from him, whilst some of their own unknowing *Faction Levites*, are obtruded upon him. These mistaken Creatures, had neither Modesty to cohabit, nor Learning to dispute with this *Royal Divine*; who being equally capable of the *Mitre*, as well as *Scepter*; of the *Sacerdotal*, as well as *Kingly Office*, was truly inimitable in both. How good a
Divine

Divine he was, appears by his Controversies with the *Marquess of Worcester*, a Person no less Eminent for Learning, than Nobility, of the *Roman-Catholick Religion*; and with the *Parliament Ministers*; especially by his Writings to *Henderfon*, a *Scotts Presbyterian*, and Champion of the Party, who being vanquished by the strength of his Arguments, testified his Conviction by his Repentance; and died for Grief, as is credibly reported (that he had offended so good and so pious a Prince, not as the Enemy affirm, because he could not perswade his Majesty to sign the *Propositions*,) a reconciled Son to the *Church of England*.

Whilst the King is afflicted in his noisom Prison at *Holmby*, it will not be from the purpose to relate what things were performed by the *Royallists* in *Scotland*, and briefly to insert them in our *Commentaries*. Which will be the less difficult, seeing they are for the most part extracted out of the *History of Montross*, writ in fine *Latin* by the most Reverend Bishop of *Edenburg*, Doctor *Wishart*.

The *Scotts*, the cause of all our Evils, deserve to be treated with a more severe style, but that we find also even in this Nation, several Persons of Honour and known Vertue, who signaliz'd themselves by the Eminency of their Loyalty, and Endeavours for the King's Preservation. Amongst these, *Montross* deservedly challenged the first rank, who performed such stupendious feats of Arms, with such slender means, having neither Soldiers nor Pay to begin with, that we may equally wonder that he undertook, as that he effected them. He had formerly been of the *Covenanters* Party in *Scotland*, and was the first that led his Men over *Tweed*, in the first *Scotch* Invasion. But, when he perceived that his Countrymen design'd not only the King's Ruine, but that of *Monarchy* too, he resolved to quit them. He also wrote to the King, to testifie his Obedience.

The History of Montross.

But,

But, his Letters were stole out of His *Majesty's* Pockets, by some of his *Bed-chamber*, and Copies of them conveyed to the *Confederates*; as also, notice of the King's Letters to *Montrose*, which were intercepted, stitche'd up in a Saddle, as had been notified. This being perceived, he resolv'd in Person to wait upon the King at *Oxford*. Which he did, and discover'd to His *Majesty*, the Counsels, and Designs of the *Confederates*; but, in vain, the Faction of the *Hamiltons* being too prevalent at Court; which continued, until the *Scots* did actually enter *England*. The King then perceiving himself abused, sent *Hamilton* Prisoner to *Pendermis-Castle*, and, at the same time sent *Montrose* into *Scotland*, as chief Governor of the same.

The King indeed, had order'd the *Marquess* of *Newcastle*, to furnish him with some Forces for the Expedition. And, *Prince Rupert*, after the fatal Battel of *Marston-Moor*, had promised him a Body of Horse; but all came to nothing, insomuch, that he entred *Scotland* with only two Companions, himself disguis'd in the habit and garb of a *Groom*, and by swift Journeys, came to the Banks of the River *Tai*; where he lay close for some days, in the house of *Patrick Grimes*, his Kinsman, a Person of great worth and Loyalty. Here he understood, how all the King's Friends had been suppress'd, by the tyranny of the *Rebels*. The *Marquess* of *Humby*, had indeed rais'd a considerable Army; but he quitted those Arms he had rashly taken up, upon the first noise of the Enemies Trumpets, saving himself by Flight. *Montrose* troubled with the misfortune of the *Gurdons*, began to cast about, how and by what means he might draw this brave and Loyal People to his Party, that they might again try the fortune of War under another *General*. In the mean time, there was a rumour spread amongst the *Shepherds*, who watch'd their Flocks in the

the Mountains, though very uncertain, of several *Irish*, who being waisted over, kept themselves in the *Northern Highlands*. *Montross* fancied this possible, and that they were of those Auxiliaries, which the Earl of *Antrim* had promised a few Months before. Which he also found to be true, as well by *Alexander Macdonnell's* Letters who commanded them, as by others from several of his Friends in the Mountains. Having received these by accident, he answered them, as if he had been at *Carlisle*, encouraging them highly with assurances, that they should neither want Assistance, nor a *General*. Ordering them at the same time to descend with all speed into *Athol*. Which they did, with Joy, upon the immediate Receipt of these Commands, sooner than could imaginably be expected. *Montross*, who was scarce twenty Miles off with his Cousin *Patrick*, habited like a *Mountaineer*, and on foot, surprizingly met them, which also happened very opportunely, they being in great danger of being destroyed. For, the Marquess of *Argile* followed them close with a great Army, whilst the *Low-landers* attended them in the Plains; where, if they descended, they could not escape, being trod to pieces under their Horses Feet. The Ships which had brought them over, to take away all hopes of a Retreat, were burnt by *Argile*. Nor would the *Atholians* or others, who favoured the King, run any hazard with them, they being strangers, had no known Authority, nor could produce any Person of *ancient Nobility*, (which the *High-landers* chiefly reverence) to head them. To this, their number was small, not exceeding eleven Hundred, whereas ten Thousand were promised. But *Montross* his Presence, who was received by them as if dropt from Heaven, seemed to compensate all these defects, and in two days the *Atholians*, to the number of eight Hundred, and armed, presented themselves

Some Irish Land in Scotland.

Montross leads them, the Atholians come in to him with 800 Men.

as also the
Lord Kil-
pont, and
Sir Jo.
Drum-
mond with
500 Men.

The Battel
of Tipper-
moor.

selves with great Alacrity to *Montross*. Being thus accompanied, he the same day marched through the Fields of *Athol* towards *Ierna*, with design to open a passage for his Friends and Supplies, (if any such should be stirr'd up with the fame of his undertaking,) before it should be shut up by the Enemy, surprized perhaps with the novelty of the thing, before they could rejoin their divided Forces. Having passed the *Tai*, the greatest River in *Scotland*, he was strengthened by the accession of five hundred Men, under the Command of the Lord *Kilpont*, and *Sir John Drummond*. They, as well as others, had been summoned by the *Confederates*, to oppose the *Irish* as common Enemies; but, as soon as they heard that *Montross* did command, they both, without any hesitation, (for both, tho' privately favoured the King's Cause,) joined Forces with him. Heightened with these supplies, he beat the Enemy consisting of six thousand Foot, and seven hundred horse, commanded by the Lord of *Elchon*, and the Earl of *Tullibardin*, at *Tippermoor*. *Montross* had no Horse at all. He therefore to prevent (by reason of the inequality of their numbers) being surrounded, extended his Front as much as possible, so that his Files being but three deep, the first Rank was commanded to kneel, the second to stoop, and the third, where the properest Men were, to shoot standing, and all to fire at once, and then to fall in with the Butt-ends of their Muskets, and their drawn Swords. All which was valiantly performed; but they wanting Powder, and not being well Armed, they fought with such Weapons as chance furnished them with; throwing Stones with such activity and animosity at the Enemy, that they forced them first to give Ground, then to run away. The slain were reckoned at two Thousand, and more taken. *Perth* was surrender'd to *Montross* the same day; where having rested three more, he was

was informed, that *Argile* was marching towards him with a strong Army. He therefore re-passing the *Tai*, encamped at *Cupr* in *Angus*, lying then, as well-nigh always, in the open Field. Passing thence by *Taodan*, he marched to *Esk*, where he met with the old *Earls* of *Arley*, with his Sons, and a brave train of Friends and Attendants. Here he had intelligence, that the Lord *Burgley* was at *Aber-* of *Aber-*
dene, with design to draw the Northern Parts by *dene*. Money or Force, to join with him. Which *Mont-*
trofs understanding, having passed the River *Dee*, he found the Enemy drawn up in Battel Array near the City. *Burgley* had two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, which he placed in the Wings; and having chosen his Ground, and planted his Cannon at the head of his Army, expected the onset. *Montrofs* had but fifteen hundred Foot; for, the Lord of *Kilpon*'s Men were gone home, to convoy the Body of their Lord, who had been murther'd by one of his own Servants; and, very many of the *Arbolians* were also returned loaden with Plunder after the Victory of *Perth*, and not yet come up to the Army. He also placed his Horse, which were but four and forty, in the Wings: Adding some of his Foot to them, who for their Agility and Strength, were equal to Horses; enjoyning them to have a care, lest the Enemies Troops surrounded them. Which they also valiantly performed; for the Charge being given, the Enemy was defeated, slaughtered, routed. The Horse escaped for the most part; but, the Foot having no place to retreat to, but the City, fled thither. But being closely pursued by the Conquerours, entring Pell-mell with them, the Streets were strow'd with their slain Bodies. Two days being allowed the Soldiers to refresh in, *Montrofs* was informed, that *Argile* was advancing with far greater Forces than formerly; being also accompanied, with the Earl

of

of *Lothan* with Fifteen Hundred Horfe. He therefore left *Aberdeen* and marched to *Kintor*, from whence he determined to lead his Forces to the Mountains and Places of most difficult access. In order to this, he buried his Cannon in the Earth, and disburthened himself of his heaviest Baggage. But, the Enemy pressing on all sides, he marched to *Badenoch*, that he might be out of the danger of their *Cavalry*, those Quarters being scarce passable for Horfe. The Enemy having left pursuing him, he was surprized by a fit of Sickness, which extreemly harassed him for some days; but, being recovered, he marched again into *Angus*, hoping either to force *Argile*, tired with tedious Marches, into *Winter* Quarters, or to leave him far behind him. Having traversed *Angus*, and passed over the *Grampian Mountain*, he came to *Strath-bogy*, to invite the *Gordons* with his Presence to a Conjunction of Arms with him. But, in vain, being opposed by the Marquess of *Huntley*; who, though he did not hate the King, envied the glories of *Montross* too much to contribute to their greatness. He went thence to the Castle of *Favia*, which he took; but being sharply attacked there by *Argile* and *Lothan*, had much to do to resist their Power; which he yet did, by his own Vertue, and the rare Valour of his Men. Many days being thus spent at *Favia*, *Argile* got nothing with so great an Army, but Infamy from his Friends, and Contempt from his Enemy. Sometime after, *Montross* understanding *Argile* to be at *Duncalidon* without his Horfe, resolved to attempt him; which coming to his knowledge, *Montross* being as yet sixteen Miles off, he commanded his Men to shift for themselves, whilst he secured himself by his flight to *Perth*.

Montross
battles Ar-
gile, who
flies to
Perth.

Montross being of opinion, that an Enemy could be no where so advantageously assaulted as in his own Country, flew with incredible speed and industry

stry into *Argile*; where having forced the *Marquess* to save himself again in a Boat, he destroyed and filled the *Province* with Blood, Slaughter, Rapine, and Fire. Nor were the other Neighbouring Countries, as *Lorn*, and the rest that acknowledged the Dominion of *Argile*, better used. The *Royallists* having quitted these Quarters, they at length met with *Argile* at *Innerlock*; but, charged him with such Fury, that they broke their Ranks; and, pursuing with a great shout, defeated them with a great slaughter, killing above Fifteen Hundred upon the place. Whilst *Argile* himself, placed in a Boat, and put off from Shore, saw the ruine of his Men at a distance, and without any share of the danger. After this, the Citizens of *Elgin*, surrender'd their Town of their own accord; at which time, the Lord *Gourdon*, eldest Son to the *Marquess* of *Huntsley*, a Person above all Commendation, for the eminency of his Vertues, left his Uncle *Argile*, and came over to the King's Party, with a very choice Squadron of Friends and Dependants. *Montross* heightened with this accession, forced *Hurrey*, Commander of the *Rebels* Horse, refusing to fight upon his Invitation, to a Retreat; and offered *Bayly* (sent for purposely out of *England*, to whom *Hurrey* was also joined by a Trumpeter) the liberty of Battel. But he replied, *That when he was disposed to Engage, it should be by his own, not anothers choice.* The *Royallists* marched forward to *Deucalidon*, and designing to pass the *Tai*, were upon the point of being ruined, by a very mischievous accident, which they could not foresee. *Lodowick Gordon*, who had born Arms at *Aberdeen* on the *Rebels* side, had by the mediation of his Noble Brother, been reconciled to the King's Party. But now, whether upon real, or pretended Letters from his Father, having privately seduced most of the *Gordons* to a defection, carried them away, exposing there-

The noble Lord Gourdon joins with Montross; and

his Brother Lodowick deserts the army, which greatly distresses Montross.

thereby his Brother and *Montross* to very imminent danger. And truly, it may be a question, whether of these excellent Persons most hated this *Perfidy*. *Montross* highly troubled with this defection, thought how to secure the rest, and immediately sent the weakest of them away with all his Baggage, with Command to meet him at *Brechin*. This done, he with an Hundred and Fifty Horse, which was all he had, and Six Hundred nimble Footmen, marched with incredible Speed to *Taodun*, which he assaulted, took, and plundered. He himself stood upon a Hill which overlook'd the Town, when sudden news was brought him, that *Bayly* and *Hurrey* were with Three Thousand Foot, and Eight Hundred Horse within a Mile of the Place. By that time he had got his Men out of the City, which was not done without extream difficulty, being scarce to be withdrawn from their Plundering, the Enemy was come up within Musket-shot of him. His Retreat was admirable, wherein he shewed himself no less a worthy Commander, than he had done in his former Victories. Some advised the General to reserve himself for better times, and secure himself by flight with his Horse; and, others under these desperate Circumstances, were of opinion, they should not perish unrevenged. But he complying with neither, instantly sent Four Hundred Foot before, and commanding the other Two Hundred to follow, he himself closed the Rear with his Horse. The Enemy discovering their number, and seeing them so few, divided their Forces, and followed after them very eagerly, not only coming up with them in their Rear and Flank, but endeavouring to obstruct their passage to the Mountains. The *Rebels* forlorn of Horse, pressed hard upon *Montross's* Rear, but his Foot facing about, fired upon them, and having slain the three foremost; rendred the rest more cautious, and the pursuit less

Montross's
noble re-
sreat from
Taodun.

less hot. The darkness of the Night, put an end to these Skirmishes. By this they were come near *Aberbroth*, where *Montross*, considering that the Enemy might have intercepted the direct way to the Hills with his numerous Horse, commanded his Men to turn to the South-westward, and march with all imaginable speed; by which artifice and incredible toil, he deluded his Pursuers, slipping by them in the night; and wheeling suddenly Northwards, he passed the *Eske* not far from the Castle of *Careston*. And having after some light Skirmishes, and a continued March of threescore Miles, without Sleep, without Meat, or any other refreshment, gained the foot of the Mountains, the Enemy at length left them, retiring from their fruitless pursuit.

Being thus beyond their hopes come into a place of security, *Montross* sent the *Lord Gourdon*, as well to recal those Troops his Brother had debauched, as also to augment them by new Levies; which he also performed with great industry, joining the General in *Marr*, with a Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse. Being thus inforced, the *Royallists* defeated *Hurrey* with Three Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse at *Alderna*; The Fight at Alderna and Alford, where the Lord Gourdon was slain. he himself hardly escaping with the Horse. Nor was *Bayly*, the most knowing of the Enemies Captains, more fortunate at *Alford*; where having left his Foot, he also fled with his Horse, which the most untimely fall of the noble *Lord Gourdon* contributed to; a loss irreparable to the King and his Party, and which cast such a damp upon the Victory, that the Soldiers overcome with Sorrow, wore the countenance of a baffled not conquering Army. But *Montross*, after this, strengthened with a numerous recruit of *High-landers*, and by the accession of the Earl of *Aboyne* (who succeeded his Brother *Gourdon*) and *Arley*, who were come up to him with

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Three

Three Hundred Horse, resolved to penetrate into the inmost parts of the Kingdom, as well to disturb the Enemies Levies in *Fife*, as to dissipate the Convention of the *States* at *Perth*.

Being come into *Fife*, the richest and most popular Province of the Kingdom, he resolved to pass the *Forth*, Which he also did, four Miles above *Stirling*; and marching forward, encamped at *Kilsyth*. The *Rebels*, fierce with their multitudes, thought that *Montrose's* late Marches, and his hasty passing of the *Forth*, were the effects of his Fear; not Counsel. So that they resolve to attack him in that place he had chosen; their chief care being, to cut off all Retreats, especially to the Mountains. *Montrose's* Army, consisted of Four Thousand Five Hundred Foot, and Five Hundred Horse; the *Rebels*, of Six Thousand Foot and Eight Hundred Horse. But, their fortune the same; for, the *Royallists* animated by the rare Valour of the old Earl of *Arley*, who being sixty years of age, did with his single Troop defeat Three of the Enemy's, and dis-engaged a Battalion of *Montrose's* Foot, too rashly advanced; which gave such universal Courage to the whole Army, that raising a great Shout, they all ran upon the Enemy, beat down such as resisted, and ruined all, scarce One Hundred of the Foot escaping. The Arms, Baggage, and Spoils of the Field, were the present reward of the Victors, who lost only six Men, whereas, near Six Thousand of the Enemy fell that day.

The Battel
of Kil-
sythe.

Upon this, the *Confederate* Lords fled out of the Kingdom, and such who favour'd the King, did no more scruple to discover themselves. This Victory having produced a new face of things over the whole Kingdom, reconciled the Cities and Provinces thereof to their duty to the King. Which he had also maintained, if the Horse which His Majesty had

had sent with the Lord *Dieby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, had, as he hoped, come up to him. But, these being dispersed, as is said, in *England*, he found other Forces than those he expected thence: For, the *Confederates* upon the fame of his Atchievements, had sent *David Lesley* with Six Thousand Horse; who, by their intelligence with the Earls of *Trequair* and *Rosburg*, whom the King had unhappily trusted, surprized and defeated him at *Selkirk*. Yet did not so far oppress him, but that he afterwards became formidable again. But the King being in the *Scotts* Army, he was by his *Majesty's* Command forced to dismiss his Soldiers, leaving his Country to the disposal of the *Confederates*.

The Royalists surprized at Selkirk. Montrose leaves Scotland.

It is now high time to return to *Holmbey*, and take a view of His *Majesty's* Diversions in that wretched Solitude. Amongst other things, seeing he heard nothing from the *Parliament*, he composed an Answer to the *Propositions* formerly sent to him. Wherein, besides many unexpected Concessions, he promised, To comply with the rest, provided he were suffered to come to *London*. But having no Secretary, or Clerk to transcribe what he had writ, he desired one from the Commissioners attending him; otherwise, he would himself scribe it over, as well as he could. This was rejected as soon as sent, although he had assented to most, and desired a Personal Treaty for the rest; they being deaf to his demands; and whilst he was thus earnest for Peace, Vote him averse to it; affirming moreover, how falsely! That he had never offer'd them any thing worthy their Acceptation, or accepted of any thing they had presented to him. In this extremity, he turns to God, and withdrawing himself, writ those *Divine Soliloquies* which compose his Book, spending that leisure time with *Heaven*, which was not permitted him to employ

The King's miserable restraint at Holmbey.

with any he delighted in *here below*. This Book, as it surpasseth all other except the *Bible*, in Piety, Prudence and Eloquence of Style, so it containeth a true and genuine discovery of the state of affairs; and consequently, fit to be read of all good Men, and, such who would be satisfied in the reality of our Transactions. In the mean time, the *Pretended Parliament* force away the *miserable* from the *unfortunate*. For, seeing the King's unhappiness and restraint, had not so far divested Men of that Veneration they owed him, but that many sick of that Disease called the *Kings-Evil*, came to him to be healed; the *Novellists*, more out of envy than grounded in reason, endeavoured, tho' to no purpose, by *Declarations*, to divert the People from this pretended Superstition, as they called it. Although all the Kings of *England*, have ever since the time of *Edward the Confessor*, who received this *Prerogative* from *Heaven*, made use of it with success.

The *Rebels* being now Masters of the King and Kingdom, having supplanted the true Heir, were upon dividing the Inheritance. Nay, had gratified several of their Grandees with splendid Donatives, when dissenting amongst themselves, they by their own Discords, opened a passage to their deserved ruine. The difference and emulation which did arise betwixt the very Conquerors, who tho' they had ended the War, were yet far from Peace, troubled all; those Twins of *Presbytery* and *Independency*, which the same Womb lately enclosed, striving for *Predominancy*, which was, as also the Blessing, extorted by the *Younger Brother*.

The *Presbyterians*, to comply with their *Scots* Brethren, had abolished the *Liturgy*, and to keep *Episcopacy* from reviving, had confiscated all its Revenues. But, the Severity of this rigid Discipline, was not equally pleasing to all, especially to those who

The Presbyterians and Independents jarr.

who pretended *New Lights*. These blaming all Tyranical Impositions in Holy Things, hold forth a *Christian Liberty*, which permits every one *Independent* from another to serve God after his own manner.

This Doctrine was very pleasing to the *Common People*, especially the Souldiery, seeing it indulged them with Licentiousness; which, not only the Vulgar, but their Officers did likewise embrace. So that the Fold of *Presbytery* being thrown down, the strayed Sheep were gathered under other *Shepherds*, forming thereby the several Sects of *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, *Millenaries*, and the rest. And, these were they, who under pretence of the *Self-denying Ordinance*, removed *Essex* and his Chief Officers from the Command of the Army, imposing *Fairfax*, who though a *Presbyterian*, was flexible, in his Room. To this Man, being of a melancholy and affected Godliness, *Cromwell*, by a particular Dispensation, was adjoined; who, by a feigned Sanctimony, should lead him at Pleasure. The Colonels and Captains, were likewise all *Schismaticks*, or such who were not averse to them. These also caused *Massey* and *Cooke* to be disbanded; as also *Poyntz's* Forces, for Mutinies which they themselves, by detaining their Pay, had occasioned. These and such like Feats, being not perceived, or neglected by the *Presbyterians*, who were far more numerous in the *House*, had passed: But the Faction increasing and growing potent; by the Accession of other *Sectaries*, they at length resolved to observe them more narrowly. The Enemy now most formidable was the Army, fierce and high with their Victories. These they fear, and therefore desire to dissolve them; which they not daring to attempt at once, they bethink themselves how to diminish their Power and Pride. And a very plausible Occasion presented it self, supplies being to be sent into *Ireland*. Eleven Thou-

The Presbyterians endeavour to disband the Army.

land were instantly voted for that Service; and, another Decree passed, for easing of the Commonwealth, that most of the Army should be disbanded; the standing-Forces to consist of Five Thousand Horse, a Thousand Curiaffiers, and Six Thousand Foot, under the Command of Fairfax; though that last Clause, did not pass without much disputing, which was wonder'd at by many. These Votes however violent, were carried by Cromwell's Skill and Arts, who ceased not to assure them of the Souldiers Obedience and Submission. Not, that he desired the Army dissolved, the thing in the World he apprehended most; but, that by that means the Presbyterians, as Chief Authors of those odious Decrees, might be render'd more hateful to the Souldiers. Which happen'd accordingly; for, the News was no sooner come to the Camp, but they began to mutiny, especially being made believe, they were to be cashier'd without their Arrears. They therefore take a Resolution not to stir, and to try every Extremity rather than go into Ireland, so far distant, to be destroyed with Sickness and Hunger; or indeed, to return to their Trades again. In this heat, they fly yet higher, and choose Agitators, Two private Souldiers out of every Regiment of Foot, and Two out of every Troop of Horse, who were authorized by their Comrades, to consider and determine, what was to be done for the publick Utility of them all. By these a Declaration was emitted, in the Name of the whole Army, that the Souldiery would neither be disbanded, nor go into Ireland, until they had received all their Pay due to so many Victories; until the People had their Liberties, and just Powers restored to them; and until Peace was secured to the Kingdom and Indemnity to the Souldiers. This Declaration, with a Petition, was presented to the Lower House by the Colonels Hammond, Rich, and Ireton, which extreamly

The Army mutinies.

By offended the *Presbyterians*, whom they will dare to offend yet higher: For, this impetuous *Faction*, being sure of the Army, resolve to get the King likewise into their Power; especially being informed, That the *Parliament* had, unless prevented, the same design. This quickened them; for, laying all delay aside, his Majesty was seized upon at *Holm-*
by, where his Captivity was, by one *Joyce* a Cor-
 net, sometimes a Godly Taylor, and now a *Tumult-*
uous Agitator, with a Party of a Thousand Horse, and carried away against his Will (as he sent the Parliament Word, by the Earl of *Dumferling*) to the Camp; his Character rendring him very considerable to the Party he was with, however a Prisoner. The Surprisal of the King being known at *West-*
minster, the *Members* there, hurried betwixt the Passions of Rage and Terror, were ready to de-
 spond; until raised by *Cromwell*, who seeming to detect the Insolencies of the Souldiers no less than his Colleagues, added, That if they thought fit to let him go to the Army, he promised with much Assurance, that he would not only reduce the Regiments to their Duty, but would oblige the Souldiers to lay down their Arms at the Door of the *Parliament-House*. The *Fathers* revived with these flourishes, greatly extol their Author. And there were amongst them, who proclaiming the Actions which he had gloriously performed for the *Parliament*, judged him worthy a Statue of Gold, if he should compose the seditious Disturbances of the Army. By this Artifice, He got leave to go (though others were of another Opinion, and not obscurely advised his Seizure) whilst he smiles at their Credulity. He immediately taking Horse, flew with no ordinary Speed to the Camp, where he not only approved what the Souldiers had done, but cheer-
 fully subscribed their *Declarations*, *Petitions*, and *Re-*
monstrances. And, to shew of what Consequence he e-

Surprised the
 King at
 Holmby.

steemed the King's Arrival at the Army; he did not blush to brag, *That he now had the Parliament in his Pocket.*

He is seemingly civilly received in the Camp.

The King was not uncivilly received by *Fairfax*, but was entertained by *Cromwell* with all the Testimonies of Duty and Loyalty; who pathetically expressing his Sorrow for his Misfortunes, did not cease to profess, That the Army, doubtful of his Safety, had rescued him out of the Captivity of the *Parliament*; and that he would never lay down Arms, until his *Majesty* was restored to his Scepters, and his Friends to more equal Conditions. And indeed all, as well Officers as Soldiers, did seem to deplore the Injustice and Extremity of his Fate; and particularly, that he had been excluded from the Conversation of his Friends, and as it were buried alive in his own Palace, by the Severity of his Adversaries. The King not displeased with this Change, desired to go to his own House at *New-market*, which after some time was permitted; *Fairfax*, and especially *Cromwell*, in the interim affirming, That his *Majesty* could be no where safer, or more eminently honoured, than in the Army. And to improve their Promises, his Chaplains, and the usual Forms of Divine Service, a thing which he had greatly desired, and the only Artifice to beget a Confidence in him, of their Reality) were permitted him at pleasure. His Friends and Servants were likewise admitted to his Presence, and Attendance; so that the *Royalists* were dazzl'd with the Lustre of these Concessions. Nay more, he was indulged the Liberty of writing to the Queen; and, her *Majesty's* Messages, were in no wise interrupted. His Children had free Access to their *Royal* Father, and moreover the sick of the *King's Evil*, were without Difficulty suffered as formerly, to be touched by him. But, all this was precarious, being the Contrivance of those impious

ous Impostors, the Father and Son in-law, *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, not out of any Favour to the King, but that by his Accession, they being paramount, might more securely triumph over the *Presbyterians*.

Upon the King's Arrival in the Camp, *Fairfax* not a little surprized, acquainted the *Parliament* with it, professing, That it happened without his, or his Officers Knowledge. And truly, it is not incredible, but that this servile *General* might be ignorant of the Authors of so great an Attempt: it being also told him by the *Council of War*, that seeing the thing was done, it was advisedly and opportunely enough performed; and, that this was the Opinion of the Army. He therefore had done enough in giving them at *Westminster* notice of it. But the more piercing and quick-sighted, found, that it was contrived by *Cromwell* and his Son-in-Law, and executed by the *Agitators* by their Instigation, no less insolent in their Licentiousness, by confidence of Impunity, than the other Two *Impostors*, were famous for their Diffimulation and Sagacity.

The *Pretended Parliament* alarmed at the Surprisal of the King, and the Rumour of the Armies approach, stopp'd them at present at *St. Albans*. With Intreaties and Money. In the mean time, they advised with the City; and, joining Forces with them, prepare for Defence. But the Citizens Preparations were tumultuous, and full of Confusion and Distraction, as is usual in unexpected Occurrences. And now the Dissentions betwixt these Parties, growing to a Height, they attacked each other with the same Method and Arts, wherewith they formerly had tormented the King. Petitions were suborned on both sides, from the Provinces and County, and nothing more frequent than tumultuous Resorts at the *Parliament-Doors*. And, 'tis observable, that none did so much apprehend, or more condemn

The Army's
Declaration.

condemn the Seditious Conferences; than those who formerly had fomented and stirr'd up the like against the King. The *House* were no less agitated with Seditions than the City, especially upon publishing a new Declaration from the Army. The Sum of it was, That the Parliament should be dissolv'd upon a *fast-day*, another being called to succeed it: That they should give an account to the Kingdom, of the vast Treasures they had received; and, That they should suspend from sitting in the House, Eleven Members, they named, viz. Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Mafey, Glyn, Maynard, Long, Harley, Nicholas, being the chief Champions of Presbytery, and now accused of High-Treason, &c. The *House* silent to the rest, answered only to the Point of Suspension, affirming, That it was not lawful to exclude any from the House, without first showing cause. Forgetful of what they themselves had formerly done in the cases of *Stratford*, and *Chambers*; which was also seasonably retorted upon them now, by the Soldiers. Having thus affrighted the Parliament, they thought good to terrify the City also, by demanding, That the Affairs thereof, might be put into other Hands. This so enraged the *Commons*, that running tumultuously to *Westminster*, they forced the *House*, by keeping the Speaker in his Chair, To confirm their former Grant of the Militia; and to invite the King by Vows to London. They also made new Lodges, and giving Mafey, Waller and others the Chief Commands amongst them, made suddenly a considerable force by the Addition of their *Reformado's*. Whilst they are thus busie, the Two Speakers, with about Fifty Members, fly to the Camp; and, crying out, That the Houses were under a Force, sat daily and voted with the Chief Officers of the Army, in a sham form of Parliament.

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The Soldiery glad of the Occasion, march towards London, under pretext of reconducting these *Tribunes*, the fugitive *Members*, back, and removing all force from the *Parliament*. The City, the Parent and Nurse of that *notorious Rebellion* against the King, now distracted with their own terrors and apprehensions, neglecting a generous defence, delivered themselves up to the disposal of the menacing Army. And, surrendering their *Tower* and *Fortitude* *Fairfax's* Hands, they were forced to give new assurances of Fidelity to their new *Masters*. The chief Citizens, and Members of the contrary Faction, were imprisoned; and banished; the *Militia* was put into trusty hands, of their own Party; and all the Works raised with so much heat and violence against their King, are now, to prevent new *Rebellions* against their *Mercenaries*, demolished by them. Nor did this empty obsequiousness suffice. A Month's stipend was paid to these *Benignities* for their good Service, and a Donative of Fifty Thousand Pounds bestowed upon their Deliverers. *Fairfax*, lest the Senate might seem ingrate, was constituted *Generalissimo* of all their Forces, more to his Honour, than intrinsic Power, he still acting but as *Cromwell's* Substitute; for, whilst he seemed satisfied with the Title and Shadow, the *Independents* did in effect possess the Substance and Advantage.

The Army having triumphed over the City, by their pompous marching through it; and, over the *Parliament*, by modelling it according to their Interest; harsher Propositions than the former were sent to the King, whereunto the chief Officers had likewise given their Suffrages in the House; but take care in the Camp, that his Majesty should not consent to them, promising, that they would obtain,

obtain, or give him better themselves: declaiming much against the *Presbyterian* arrogance and severity. And they indeed did produce easier, and more equitable Terms; with which at first, the King being circumvented, seemed to prefer them before the other, to the great satisfaction of the Heads of the Army; as if now, the Camp were more valuable in the King's Esteem; than the Parliament. And yet these *Camps* did not cease to embitter these Members against him, as if despised by him. Nay, themselves forgetting their former Civilities, grew more morose; and now they delay, and pretending a reverence for the Parliament, reason and dispute things; interpreting their own Promises in a contrary Sense.

Resolutions.
etc.

In the mean time the *Parliament* Voted, That the King should be conveyed to Richmond, under the Guard of Colonel Rossiter; which was also consented to by *Fairfax*, until the Army required. That, the King should come no nearer London, than the *House* would suffer their Camp to be. *Cromwell*, who had obtained his End, having like the Parliament, in his Pocket, began now to neglect the King, whom he had seemingly adored and courted, with the charging Promises of his Restoration. He did not wait upon him as usual, and nauseating his Conversation, wished him gone. He had formerly deliberated with his Cabal how to destroy him, and had once design'd to have him murder'd in the *Stoke* Camp, to satisfy his Revenge, and at once to throw the odium of the Fact upon them he equally hated. But, it now seems sufficient to terrify him with apparent dangers: reserving his final ruin, till they gained more Authority, by rendering him more odious to the People, as averse from Peace. Which having obtained, his fall would seem less pitied, being also perpetrated

Designs up-
on the
King's
Life.

ted by a *Parliamentary* Judicial Act, as most plausible. Nor was the King ignorant, of these rebellious *Scelerates* designed Villainies, having been not obscurely informed of *Cromwell's* perfidious dealings with him, by some, whom the Eminence of his Vertues, had gained amongst these black Conspirators. Neither were his Friends wanting, in their wishes and endeavours for his safety. Amongst whom, we with gratitude applaud the offers of the *Scots* Commissioners; for the Earls of *Landerdale* and *Lanmerick*, meeting his *Majesty*, as he was Hunting near *Nonsuch*, and but slenderly guarded; they having at that time Fifty Horse of their Train with them, told his *Majesty*, That they were come thither on design to deliver him out of his Captivity. And therefore, humbly desired, That he would be pleased not to omit this opportunity to save himself, out of their too visible perfidious Hands. But, His *Majesty* answered, That he had passed his Royal Word not to leave the Army without acquainting the Chief Officers, and therefore would not violate his Promise, to save his Life. Some time after, he told the said Commissioners, That he was now discharged from his Word, and after many Propositions about his retreat, he seemed much pleased with that of *Barwick*, as then ungarrisoned, and in the Confines of both Kingdoms. But that was also waved, by reason of the violent motion of the *Agitators*, a rumour being also at the same time spread at Court, that they had conspired against his Life; which was not only conveyed to him by his Friends, as believing it, but also by Colonel *Whaley* his Guardian, who told him, That moved with duty and affection, he could not forbear to beseech his *Majesty*, to save himself by a timely Retreat; affirming, That this also was the Sense of the

His Majesty
wishes
draws from
Hampton-
Court.

the Chief Officers of the Army, who were very unwilling to be Spectators, of what they could not at present help. With these Artifices, this best of Princes being circumvented, privately withdrew himself from Hampton-Court, which by the removing of the Centinels was not difficult.

Having passed the River in a Boat, he found *Ashburnham*, *Legge*, and *Barclay* on the other side with Horses. He had designed to go to *London*, where he also had a Lodging provided for him; but, upon a Consideration, that the Citizens, being obnoxious to the Soldiery, were not to be trusted, and that *Ashburnham* perswaded the contrary; leaving the City, they after much Toil, and the Errors incident to travelling, in a dark and tempestuous Night, came to the Sea-side near *Southampton*. Where, not finding a Ship, as they expected, to transport them to *Jersey*, the King asked, Whither they purposed to carry him? *Ashburnham* replied, To the *Isle of Wight*; for, he had great confidence in Colonel *Hammond*, the Governour, Brother to Doctor *Hammond*, the King's Chaplain. The King replied, That he would not enter into the *Island*, unless he first had assurance from the Governour both of his Liberty and Security from danger. *Ashburnham* therefore and *Barclay*, were sent to propose these Conditions. To whom *Hammond*, (dear to *Cromwell*, and sent as is supposed to command the *Island* for that purpose) answered, That he would provide for the King's Security from danger, but could not dispose of his Liberty, but with the Army and Parliaments Knowledge. Our Delegates having advanced beyond a Retreat, were necessitated through fear to accept of the Condition, and so brought *Hammond* with them to the Countess of *Southampton's* House near *Titchfield*, where

where the King privately lay. He was no sooner come, and His *Majesty* acquainted with the Terms, but clapping his Hand upon his Heart, he said, too Prophetically alas! *I am now undone.* Whereupon his Attendants bursting out into Tears, and Expressions of Violence, would instantly have kill'd *Hammond*. But, His *Majesty* absolutely forbade it, who would not purchase his own Safety, at the clandestine Destruction of a most bitter Enemy. And, so he delivered himself into his Custody, and those Toils which the nefarious Cunning of his Adversaries, had long since laid for him.

BOOK

BOOK V.

The King in the Isle of Wight. His Message for Peace. The four Dethroning Bills. The Votes of Non-address. Cap. Burleigh attempts the King's Delivery, Rolfe his Life. The King appeals to the People. They rise in several Parts of the Kingdom. Are suppressed. Pembroke taken. The Scots defeated, and Hamilton a Prisoner. Colchester surrendered. The Treaty in the Isle of Wight broken by the Army. They seize upon the King. Garble the Parliament. The perjur'd Remains of the Commons, assume the Supream Power. Constitute a pretended Court of High Justice. Arraign, Condemn and Murder their King. His End and Elogy.

THE King, upon his Departure from Hampton Court, had left upon his Table amongst other things, a Letter to the Parliament. The Contents thereof were, *That Liberty being desired by all Men, and no less necessary for King's than others; and that he had long suffered the irksomness of a Prison, under hopes of Peace: He now finding the contrary, and the inconstancy of the Army, had withdrawn himself. And yet wherever he should be, he would use all his Power for the procuring of it, and hinder further effusion of Blood. Finally, if it should be permitted him to be heard with Honour, Liberty and Freedom, he would quickly break through this Cloud of Retirement, and demonstrate himself truly to be the Father of his Country. Being arrived in the Island, he again earnestly presses the Parliament, for what he had so* *The King's Message often for Peace.*

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often desired, Peace; and having sent them Concessions beyond their Hopes and Desires, he yet invites them to a Treaty, though with the same Success. And yet, lest these pious Patriots might seem too averse from that they had pretended to, *the Peace of the Nation*, they send the old Propositions to him, but accompanied with four preliminary Articles. Which, how unjust soever, they require him to assent to before any further Proceeding. They demand,

*The 4 de-
throning
Bills.*

1. *The Absolute Power of the Militia.*
2. *That the Parliament be not Adjourned, Prorogued, &c. but by their disposal.*
3. *All Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations against the Parliament should be revoked and annulled.*
4. *All Honours and Titles, conferred by the King, since carrying away the Great Seal, should be annihilated and suppressed.*

By the granting of these, the King would not only divest himself, and that by his own Suffrage, of all Right to Govern, but take upon him the Guilt of all the Blood-shed in the late War. Moreover, they desire, contrary to Order and Reason, the concession of those Things which were to be treated of, before the *Treaty* should begin. The *Scots-Commissioners* also opposed these Demands by Public Protestation, before the *Parliament* at *London*, and in presence of the King in the *Isle of Wight*; as being repugnant to *Religion*, the Honour of the *Crown*, and the *Treaties* betwixt both Nations. Which when the King had inculcated to them, they were so far from being moved thereat, that these Sons of Violence, railed not only against the King, but even *Monarchy* it self. One of them proposed, *To have him closely kept,*

Wroth.

218

Ireton.

Vices of
Non-ad-
drefs.The King
a close Pri-
soner.

in some inland Garrison, until he could be brought to judgment. In the mean time, they should themselves (he being entirely excluded) govern. It was equal to him, what kind of Government they settled, provided they admitted, neither Kings, nor Devils. Another urged, That his rejecting of the Propositions, was no other than the denial of his Protection, and that the People upon that account, did owe him no Subjection, being these were reciprocal. But Cromwell, who was the Bell-weather of the Faction, admonish't the Parliament, To rule by their own proper Power and Fortitude; and not suffer the People longer to expect their Safety from a Man, whose Heart God had hardened; or, subject those who had served them so faithfully, to the Fury of an implacable Enemy; lest they should force them (clapping his hand upon his sword) to endeavour their security by some other means. The servile Senate being admonished by these Arguments, Vote, That no further Address should be made to the King, and that no further Demands should be sent to him, or any received for him. To these barbarous Votes, they add their no less barbarous Commands to the Governour of the Isle of Wight, for the King's closer Detention in Careborough-Castle; which he did, by a stricter Confinement in redoubling his Guards, and by turning away his Servants, saying, That he was actuated by ill Counsels, to the destruction of the Kingdom. And yet at the same time, he tampered with his Majesty, by courting Ashburnham and Berkely, who were still retained with him, as also the Earl of Southampton, who was at large, to make new Proposals, whereby to gain his Majesty's nearer owning of the Army; that, whilst they amused the People with appearances, they might the more securely destroy him. But, seeing this did not take, their late monstrous Votes, were followed by as monstrous a Declaration, to mask, in as much as in them lay,

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their

their unjust Proceedings. It was stuff with their old exploded Calumnies, and so often repeated pretended Misgovernments, to abuse the Peoples credulity, though in vain, however owned by the impious Army, who did dare to profess, *That they would live and dye with the Parliament, in maintaining of those dethroning Votes.*

Captain
Burleigh
attempts
his release

But this did not hinder a worthy, however fruitless attempt, of *Captain Burleigh*; who beat a Drum at *Nemport* in the *Isle of Wight*, with Design to raise a Force, for the delivery of his injured Sovereign; but, being suppressed by *Hammond*, he was Murdered by *Wilde* and *Mildmay*, for levying War against the King. And yet, these Reverend Judges! acquitted *Rolfe*, who had been employed, upon apprehension of the following Rising, to Poyson the King, or otherwise to remove him, out of the way, as conducing to their Affairs; which was proved, as well in part, by his own confession, as the discovery of *Osburne*, some time his Confident. This wilful Intention of *Parricide*, was found *Ignoramus*. Nor indeed, had this Villain been tried at all, had it not been to satisfy the Clamors of the People, who began, as will suddenly appear, to be sensible as well of the Perfidy of the Usurpers, as of the miserable Condition of their King.

His Majesty's
Apology.

His Majesty seeing himself secluded from the Society of reasonable Men, and considering the untractableness of the *Pretended Parliament*, appeals to the People; and, Publishing his most Elegant Apology, not only clears himself from the imputed Crimes laid to his Charge, but retorts all those wickednesses they were so justly and visibly guilty of, upon their own heads. He further represents, his wretched and disconsolate Condition, improved by the continuance and rigidity of an insupportable Imprisonment. He demonstrates, with what

car-

earnestness he endeavoured the composing of all things in a desirable Peace, and gives just and unanswerable Reasons, why he could not yield his Assent to the Four Dethroning Bills. He therefore appeals to the And Ap-
 whole World why, or how, he had deserved to be ^{peal to the} thus used? Especially by those who were his Subjects, ^{People.} being he had Sacrificed all for the Peace of his Kingdoms; but, what was much more dear to him than Life, his Honour and Conscience. He further mentioned, his compliance with the Army and their Interests; as also, of what importance that was to them, and their often repeated Professions and Engagements for his just Rights and Restitution. He finally inferred, If it was Peace they would have, He shewed them the way to it, to which he would contribute his utmost. Was it Plenty and Happiness? They were the inseparable Effects of Peace. Was it security? He that did wish, that all Men would forgive and forget like him, had offered the Militia for his time. Was it Liberty of Conscience? He who wanted it, was most ready to give it. Was it the right Administration of Justice? Offices of Trust were committed to the Choice of the Two Houses. Finally, was it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a settlement they would certainly be paid with much Ease, which otherwise would be scarce Possible. But, all this was to no purpose; so that the People, awaked out of that stupid Lethargy they had been lulled in, by these Pretenders of Reformation, perceived at length, that the Tyrants at Westminster, had designed wholly to exclude the King, and Usurp the Government themselves. Which being evident by their late pernicious Votes, and that nothing but Slavery and Oppression was to be expected from these new Masters, they resolved to vindicate their Sovereign, and their Liberty, by the way of Arms. But, first ^{They rise} they would try the way of ^{in several} *Petitioning*. The Men ^{Parts of} of *Essex* began; being followed by them of *Surrey* the King-
 in dom.

in greater Numbers, requiring, *That the Treaty with the King, might be renewed. and the Army paid off, and disbanded.* But, their reception was very rude ; being beaten, and plundered, and slain, by their Guards. Insomuch, that the *Kentish-men* having likewise framed a *Petition* for Peace, upon the like usage, by a Party of Horse, and being threatened, *to have two hanged out of each Parish that were Promoters of it, and the rest sequestered,* they threw away their Paper, and betook them to their Arms.

The first appearance of an Insurrection, broke out in the City of *London*, being accidental, not upon the King's Account. The *Parliament* had piously voted down *Holy-days*, abrogating all the *Festivals* of the *Church*, having appointed one Day in every Month, in lieu of them, for Publick Recreations. The Apprentices, as usually, had met in some Numbers in *Moor-Fields* on the 9th. of *April*, to play and divert themselves. But, this being *Sunday*, moved the Zeal of some precise *Schismatical* Officers of the Trained-Bands, who with their Guards would force them away, but were themselves routed by the Boys, with Stones and Clubs ; who also took their Colours from them, and in a Childish Bravery, marching into the Streets, frightened *Warner* the then Mayor into his House ; and, taking away a *Drake* from his Door, Planted it at *Lud-Gate* nearest the *Foe*, the Army, then about *White-Hall*. But, *Fairfax* on the Morrow following, entering with some Regiments of Horse and Foot at *Alders-Gate*, easily dispersed them, though then numerous, no Person of Quality undertaking their Conduct.

The Fame of this tumultuous Insurrection, or rather Riot, was quickly noised throughout the Kingdom, which although strangled in its Infancy, seemed to animate the oppressed populace to follow the

the Example; whereby they might redeem themselves, and Liberties from their impending slavery. The *Welch* were the first that took up Arms under the Conduct of Major General *Laughorn*, and the Colonels *Poyer* and *Powell*, all Three formerly stiff Assertors of the *Parliaments* Jurisdiction. But now, being to be disbanded by Orders of the *Council of War* of the Army, they refuse to obey. And, the better to secure themselves, declare for the King, acting by Commission and Powers from the then *Prince of Wales*. *Laughorn* grew suddenly by the accession of Major General *Stradling*, and others of the King's Party to a considerable Army, esteemed Eight Thousand strong, which rendered him Master of the Town and Castles of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*. Sir *Nicholas Kemish*, at the same time surprized *Chepstow* Castle; and, Sir *John Owen*, another eminent Cavalier in *North Wales*, defeated and took the High-Sheriff of *Caernarvan*. So that all *Wales*, seemed at once to shake off that cruel Yoak they laboured under.

Nor were the preparatives for a War of the *Kentish-men*, less considerable. For, Rendezvouzing near *Rochester*, they chose the Earl of *Norwich*, then upon the place, to be their General. Very many Apprentices, and reformed Officers and Souldiers flocked from *London* daily to them. Inso-much, that the *Juncto* terrified with the apprehension of what might happen, restored to the City their *Militia*, which they feared otherwise might be extorted from them, hoping by this Confidence to render them more addicted to their interest, Which also happened, not upon sentiments of generosity, but to manifest their aversness to oppressed *Monarchy*, even then when it was in their Power to restore it; *Skippon* being also readmitted to the Command of their Forces, the Communication with *Kent* was interrupted, by placing Guards upon the Passages of the River, But,

*The Welch
in Armes.*

*As also the
Kentish-
men.*

Berwick
and Car-
lisle surpri-
zed.

But, the Clouds that threatned the fiercest storm, gathered in the North, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and others having surprized the strong Town of *Berwick*, and Sir *Phillip Musgrave* and Sir *Thomas Glenham* that of *Carlisle*, and raised considerable Forces to joyn with the *Scots* now ready to enter *England*, seemed no less able than willing to effect what they pretended, the King's Restitution. Though it be true, that the *Scots-Declaration*, had so many untoward Restrictions in it, that nothing but the Frank Loyalty of the *Royallists* could joyn with them.

Upon the first noise of the *Scots* arming, many *English* repaired into *Scotland*, which obliged them at *Westminster*, by their Deputies, to require the delivery of the chief of them as Incendiaries. They named particularly *Wogan*, who carried a Troop thither, with Sir *Thomas Glenham* and others. But the *Scots* refused it, seeing it was not stipulated in the Treaties betwixt both Nations; *They not judging those to be Incendiaries between the Two Kingdoms, but only between the King and England.*

These Revolts and Preparations for a new War, did strangely disquiet the pretended *Parliament*, who thereupon reviving their Votes of 1642. declare, *That it appears, that the King seduced by wicked Counsel (though then a close Prisoner) intends to make War against the Parliament.*

Cromwell being dispatcht against the *Welch* with great Forces, the *Kentish Expedition* was not thought unworthy *Fairfax's* Conduct. He therefore marches with Six Thousand Foot and Two Thousand Horse against the Cavaliers, who being fatally divided, whilst they Fight singly by Parties, they are all overcome. Fifteen Hundred stout Men were sent to *Maidstone*, to oppose their Enemies Passage there; who fought with so much Valour, that after they

Fairfax
defeats
the Ken-
tish-men.

they had been beaten from the Avenues and Hedges, they kept that Town, firing from the Houses and Leads, about the space of Six Hours, with great slaughter of the Enemy. So that it is believed, if the Earl of *Normich* had come up with the rest of the Army to their Assistance, the Rebels might have been defeated that Day. But, he dividing his Forces, sent half of them to *Dover*, and himself marched with the rest to *Blackheath*; and being denied a Passage through the City, which had been promised him, he Ferries and Swims his small Army over to the *Isle of Doggs*. From thence, he moved to *Mild-end-Green*. But, seeing none come out of *London* to his relief, as he expected, he himself with only Five Hundred, the rest being upon the obstinacy of the Citizens slip from him, joyned with the *Essexians* at *Bow* under the Command of Sir *Charles Lucas*. They all stay'd here some time, to favour any Loyal Attempt that might be made at *London*; until warned by the approach of *Fairfax*, who having dispatcht *Rich* and *Barkstead* with their Regiments, to reduce those Castles which the *Kentish* had taken towards the *Downs*, had passed the *Thames* at *Graves-End*, they were also forced to dislodge. And, marching further into the Country, seized store of Arms and Ammunition, in the Earl of *Warwick's* House at *Lees*; and, having surprized the *Parliament-Committee* at *Chelmsford*, went thence to *Colchester*, where the brave *Lord Capell* joyned them, with some Horse: And, all of them received the Van of *Fairfax's* Army with such Gallantry at the Towns-end, that they forced them to retire to their main Body, with considerable Loss. They had designed to march further, if they had not been so closely pursued by the Enemy, with Hopes of strong Assistance from the Inhabitants of *Norfolk* and *Sussex*. But, these failing, and indeed joyning with the
Rebels,

Rebels, contrary to their solemn Promises, the *Royallists* were besieged in this Town, no way tenable, but by the rare Fortitude of the Defendants.

Cromwell Nor was *Cromwell* less successful in *Wales*. *the Welch*. *Laughorn* having been beaten at *St. Fagons*, by Col. *Horton*, with scarce half his Number, Fifteen Hundred of his Men being killed, and near Three Thousand taken Prisoners. *Cromwell* besieged the Fugitives in *Pembroke*, having first taken *Tenby* Castle, and forced that of *Chepstow* by Col. *Eure*, who slew the Governour in cold Blood. The Rumor of the *Scots* Invasion greatly encreasing, animated *Cromwell* to employ all his skill and force for the Reduction of this important Post. The Garrison within was strong, and the Place well fortified, which he resolved however to attempt by Storm. And, falling on with great Courage, was as bravely received, and at length beaten off with great slaughter of his Men. After this, not thinking it adviseable to expose his dismayed Souldiers to new hazards, he resolves to gain that by famine, which he could not effect by force. Which being perceived by the Garrison, they chose rather to surrender upon Terms, than languish in the Toyls of a long Siege, tho they saw a Prospect of a General Rising in the Kingdom, and the certainty of the *Scots* Invasion. But, *Cromwell* knowing how precious time was, offering the Souldiery and Inferior Officers very good Conditions, he had this strong Place, with the Three chief Leaders, *Laughorn*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, delivered into his hands by these faithless Miscreants.

Nor was Sir *John Owen* more fortunate in *North-Wales*, being defeated and taken Prisoner by Colonel *Mitton*. So that, the whole Country being reduced to the *Parliaments* Obedience again,

Cromwell

Cromwell was at liberty to march against the Scots with all his Power.

The *Earl of Holland*, the *Duke of Buckingham*, the *Earl* with the *L. Francis* his Brother, the *Earl of Peterborough* of Holland, and some others of Quality appeared near *Kingston*, with Five Hundred Horse and some Foot, but were instantly suppressed, tho not without some bloody Shirmishes; in one of which, the Young and Generous *Lord Francis* refusing Quarter, was barbarously slain by an unknown Hand. *Holland* was taken in his flight at *St. Neots* by *Col. Scroop*, where *Dalbier*, sometime a Favourite of *Essex's*, and a great *Parliamentarian*, was killed in his Quarters.

But, the Scots seem now to demand our Attention, being advanced with a very numerous and well-accounted Army, far into the Kingdom. And here may be observed the Vicissitudes of the Times, as well as of Affairs. For, the Scots, whom the *Parliament* had formerly with great Endeavours and Charges, allured to their Assistance; and whom, the War being done, they had likewise twice dismissed with vast Rewards as Friends: These same Scots, the Faction being changed, become Enemies, and invading *England* again, joyn Forces with the *Royallists* their now reconciled Friends, against their sometimes dear Brethren of the *Parliament*. *Duke Hamilton*, upon the surrender of *Pendennis* Castle, where he had been detained Prisoner by the King's Command, being set at liberty, was now General of this great Army, consisting of Fifteen Thousand fighting Men, to whom *Langdale* and *Musgrave* brought Three Thousand *English*; which forces, if *God* had not determined otherwise, might have effected what they designed. As soon as the King was informed, that *Hamilton* commanded the Scots Army, he too prophetically foretold the Fatal Issue of the Expedition.

Cromwell
defeats the
Scots at
Preston.

Expedition, as fancying him unfortunate or inconsistent. But, *Cromwell* being come out of *Wales*, with a victorious and disciplined Army, and joyn-
ing with *Lambert*, who had hitherto attended the
Enemies Motion, fell upon the main Body of the
Scots within Two Miles of *Preston* in *Lancashire*,
and routed them by Skirmishes, and beating up
of Quarters, without the Formality of a Battle.
Langdale and his *English* fought bravely, but be-
ing neglected, and no ways succoured, were op-
pressed by the adverse Multitudes. The *Scots* pre-
sumed perhaps upon their own Power, and think-
ing to conquer by themselves, and consequently
reap the whole Advantage of the Victory, as also
the entire Honour of restoring the King (if they
had any such design) abandoned them that fought
so well, and by this foolish precaution or pre-
sumption, contributed to their own ruin. Besides,
the *Scots* Forces, either by Ignorance, or Malice, or
Discord (for, *Hamilton*, and *Calander*, who was
Lieutenant-General of the Army, did not agree
well) were so untowardly marshalled, that they
could not all be brought to fight or assist each other,
by reason of the over-great distance of their
Wings, whereby they were all defeated. *Bayly*,
after sharp encounters with those who pursued him,
having recovered *Warrington Bridge*, delivered up
himself and Four Thousand Foot to the Con-
queror, upon Quarter. Major-General *Midleton*,
was intercepted with Four Hundred Horse, and
Hamilton himself General of the Expedition with
Three Thousand Horse, was taken without a Blow
at *Uttoxeter*, by the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Waite*.
Very few returning by the way they came, met
with *Monroe*, who followed *Hamilton* with a Sup-
ply of Six Thousand more; but, hearing of the
Defeat, returned with the other Fugitives back in-
to *Scotland*. *Cromwell* following in the Rear of
these,

these, came to *Edinburgh*, where joyning Forces and Councils with *Argile*, by whom he had been invited; they not only obliged the contrary *Faction* to lay down Arms, but having summoned another *Parliament*, condemned the late Expedition as unjust.

Scotland being pacified, *Cromwell* secure on that side, having also concerted with *Argile* concerning the Ruin of the King, and Extirpation of *Monarchy* itself; they also advised and agreed on the Form and Method of the future *Regicide*. And so, after sumptuous Treats, and many high Expressions of Gratitude, and Acknowledgments for his meritorious Services, *Cromwell* returned into *England*.

All this while, *Colchester* held out with incredible Courage and Constancy, upon hopes of Relief from the *Scots*; and, not only content to defend themselves, did extremely annoy the Enemy, by their frequent Sallies and Camisadoes. They had consumed their Horses, Dogs, Cats, and what else was no less abhorring to Nature; but, their hopes, with the defeat of *Hamilton*, being likewise spent, they were forced to surrender. Which they did, upon no other Terms, than Quarter for life to the Souldiery, and Mercy to the Officers. But, how Colchester cruel the Mercies of these *Scelerates* were, instantly appears; for, they had no sooner possessed the Town, but Three most Noble Persons, Men of Eminent Valour and Loyalty, the Lord *Capell*, Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle* (to whom was added Sir *Bernard Gascoyn*, but exempted upon the account of being a Stranger) were sentenced to be shot to death by the *Court-Marshal*, tho the War was done. Sir *George* and Sir *Charles*, were immediately murdered, by Souldiers appointed for the Slaughter. The Stone they fell upon being sprinkled with their Blood, could not be

be'cleansed of it, but continues still a Monument of this horrid Impiety, with this Inscription engraven *Hic jacent Car. Lucas & Geor. Lisle, a Fairfax mactati.* Capell was reserved for the Scaffold, who afterwards suffered with no less Constancy and Greatness of Mind, than his illustrious Collegue now did, as we shall see in the Sequel of this History.

The Revolt
of the
Fleet.

Nor was it on Land only that the Sword did rage, the Sea also had its Scenes of Blood and Horror; for, a great part of the Navy, detesting the Tyranny of their Old Masters, deserted them, and revolted to the *Prince of Wales*. *Batten*, one of their prime Leaders, having been dismissed by them, returned to his Duty, and joined his *Highness* with some more Ships. The Sea-men had exposed *Rainsborough* their *Admiral*, and a Turbulent *Leveller*, by putting him on shore (who was afterwards slain in his Quarters by a Party from *Pomfret*) and now embracing the King's Party with universal Consent, seemed resolved to expiate their former Rebellion by a Return of Duty, and to merit their Pardon by the Eminency of their Services. *Prince Charles*, with the Duke of *York* his Brother, who lately escaped from *St. James's* in *Womans Cloaths*; *Prince Rupert*, the Earl of *Brandford*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Willmot*, *Willoughby*, *Culpeper*, and others of Name and Quality, sailed from *Holland* with this brave Fleet, consisting of Twenty Ships of War, and came into *Tarmouth-Road*, with design to attempt every thing that was possible for the Relief of *Colchester*. But, finding the distance from that City too great, and the Shore and Passages possessed by the numerous Enemy, his *Highness* sailed to the Mouth of the *Thames*, carrying Terror and Force with him to awe the City of *London*. But, his stay there was not long, the Castles of *Deal*, *Walmer* and *Sandwich* requiring his Assistance; which he attempted,

by

by landing Five Hundred Men ; who, though they fought with extream Gallantry, were yet forced back with great loss to their Ships again. The *Castles*, after this Defeat, were immediately surrendered. By this time, the Earl of *Warwick*, lately made *Admiral* again, had equipt another Fleet in the River ; and, having joyned that of *Portsmouth*, resolved to fight the *Prince* ; which he yet delays for the present, not only terrified with the Revolt of others, but in some doubt of the Fidelity of his own Men. The *Prince* perceiving this, courted the *Earl* with magnificent Offers, to the Return of his Duty. But he perfidiously constant, persisted in his *Rebellion* ; and, in recompense of his Services, shall see himself disgracefully outed of all Trust, and his only Brother, the *Earl of Holland*, beheaded for his late Return to his Obedience.

Some were of Opinion, that the *Royallists* omitted an opportunity of fighting, the Sea men being high in Heart, and seemingly very Loyal, and the Enemy supposed to waver ; tho the Event afterwards proved the contrary. In the mean time, the *Prince* seeing his Land-Forces every where defeated, and the adverse Fleet growing daily stronger, returned into *Holland*, giving the Command of the Fleet to *Prince Rupert*. But, many of the Ships, out of an innate levity of their Sailors, leaving the *Prince*, returned to their old slavery under *Warwick*, whilst the rest continuing in their Duty, stuck close to their New *Admiral*, whose Actions and Adventures shall be hereafter related.

Some other Fortresses, besides those already mentioned, declared for the King, as, *Tinmouth*-*Castle*, seized upon by Major *Lilburn* ; *Scarborough*, by the Return of Sir *Matthew Boynton* the Governour to his Allegiance ; and, *Pomfret*, possessed upon the same score by Major *Morrice*. *Tinmouth* indeed

N. B.

indeed was retaken by Assault, the Governour losing his Life with the Place. *Boynton* got Terms not unworthy the Defence he had made; and *Morrice*, all being lost, bravely exposed himself to save his Garrison. Who, tho he broke thro the Camp, which was the Conditions he had articulated for, yet was afterwards taken and murdered under colour of Justice in cold Blood.

The Visitation of Oxford.

But, before we proceed further in these Occurrences, it may not be impertinent to take a Review of some Transactions in the entrance of this Black Year, 1648. seeing, they seem to tend to those monstrous *Catastrophes* it ended in. The first thing our pious Reformers undertook, was visiting the *University of Oxford*. They had long since garbell'd *Cambridge* to their Interest and, will now, as much as in them lyes, extinguish this other *Luminary*, by removing its *Candlesticks*, and ejecting all the Members thereof, that were any ways notable for Learning, Loyalty, Piety, or Obedience to the Church or State, as established by Law. The Earl of *Pembroke* being made *Chancellor*, together with several Delegates of the Factious *Clergy*, and some of the *Laiety* (as good Divines as himself) were appointed for this Service. Which was performed, with all the Rigor of an *Inquisition*, none being spared, from the Reverend *Heads of Colleges*, to the hopeful Striplings of Sixteen.

The Duke of York escapes into Holland.

And yet, the entrance of this Year, had thus much extraordinary in it, in that it contributed to the Deliverance of the *Duke of York*, out of the Hands of those worst of Rebels, being conveyed away in a Virgin-disguise, and carried into *Holland* by Col. *Bamfeild*; who afterwards, aspersed the Honour of this Service, by undutiful Intelligences.

But,

But, to return whence we digressed, the Army with *Cromwell* being absent, and in *Scotland*; several Petitions from the Country, the Captains, Masters and Sailors, as also from the City of *London*, were presented to the Men at *Westminster*, requiring, with more than ordinary earnestness, a personal Treaty with the King. This did so far work upon the *Presbyterian Faction* in the *House*, very jealous and apprehensive of the Power of the *Independants*, that they resolved for their own preservation, to make a Peace with the King. And, ^{*The Treaty in the Isle of Wight.*} in order thereunto, forthwith recalled their *Votes of Non-Address*, and sent Commissioners with *Propositions*, not much unlike the former, with Power to make Peace, allowing Forty Days for the time of treating. They indeed permitted his Majesty the attendance of several *Lords* of his *Council* and *Bed-Chamber*, many of his Servants, some of his *Chaplains*, some *Lamyers* and others: But, they refused the Assistance of any but himself in treating. Nor was it truly necessary; for, it presently appeared, that as he was a Prince of prodigious Parts; so he seemed more than humanly inspired, who could singly manage so weighty an Affair, against Fifteen *Commissioners*, Persons prejudiced, and of great Subtily; and with that success, that he made Converts of some of his bitterest Enemies; and, however unwilling, forced their very Reason. But, they having no liberty to recede, or any way to remit of the Rigor of their *Propositions*, His Majesty out of his affection to Peace, granted many things above their Desires, being content to divest himself of most of his *Regalities* for his time, and trust those insatiable Men with the exercise thereof; as appears by his Concessions. And, now the Hopes of Peace, and a Happy Accommodation, seemed at hand; which had also been effected, if the *Parliament* had not wretchedly lost too much time in

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frivolous

frivolous disputations of no weight. Whereby it appeared, as formerly at *Uxbridge*, that they never designed, that this *Treaty* should take any effect, nor that they would be satisfied with Part, who had already devoured the Whole in their thoughts. The Army, who seemed to acquiesce in the Pleasure of their Superiors, whilst engaged in War, did dare now, the *Royallists* being every where suppressed, changing their Principles with their Success, plainly to dissent; And, to declare openly to the whole World, That nothing would satisfy, but the Destruction of the King, and the Subversion of *Monarchy*.

In order hereunto, a fierce *Petition* was presented from the *City* against the *Treaty*, which was also seconded from *Oxfordshire, New-Castle, York, &c.* and, in particular, *Ireton's* Regiment insisted upon the same, demanding, *That the same fault, may have the same punishment in the Person of King, or Lord, as in the Person of the meanest Commoner.* A Prelude to the designed *Regicide*.

They had formerly designed the Murder of the King, by the Ministry of that Villain *Rolfe*, as is already mentioned; but now, fierce with their Victories, they will themselves destroy him. To

*The Armies
Remon-
strance.*

this purpose they emit a *Remonstrance*, execrable as it's Authors, *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; which was presented to the *Commons House* by Col. *Eure*, and Seven other *Scelerates* like himself. In this they furiously declaim against the Restitution of the King, or any Accomodation with him, requiring, *That he, as the Capital Enemy, should be brought to judgment; That the Prince and Duke of York, should be summoned in by a day; That the Parliament should constitute a Government for the future; and, fixing a Period to their own Session, should take care for Annual or Biennial Parliaments; and the like stuff, which they offered in their own*
Names,

Names, and as the *Agreement of the People*. They were grown now to that insolence, that their modest *General* writ to the *Committee of the Army* for Money, or he should be forced to receive (that is, take it) out of the *Collectors* and the *Receivers* hands, where he could find it, if speedy course be not taken to supply him. Which, however high it appeared or unbecoming in the *General*, was connived at. And, now again the *Army* declare, *That they can see in the Majority of those trusted with the Affairs of the Kingdom, nothing less than a treacherous or corrupt Neglect of, and Apostasy from, the publick Trust reposed in them, and therefore they appeal from them to God, and the People*. In order to this, the *Army* marches towards the *City*, and in contempt of the *Parliament's* Order, who commanded their stay, advance, sending a *Declaration* before them, wherein, *They accuse the Members of Folly, of Infidelity, and Inconstancy; threatening, They would come to Westminster, where they would further act as God should inspire them*.

And thus the *Parliament*, after successes above their desires, are agitated and tormented, with the Mutinies of their own *Army*. They had indeed declared the seditious, and mutinying *Souldiers* *Enemies*; but now by a desponding Compliance, they Vote them their Pay, and the *Officers* their *Arrears*; and also, that the *Declaration* against the *Army*, be rased out of the *Journal* of the *House*. They further, as also the *Citizens of London*, and the *Counties*, began to make all their applications to the *General*, especially *Cromwell* and the *Army*. The *Parliament* seemed now neglected, whilst the *Army* triumph, and all *Men* are affraid of doing any thing that may displease them.

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During

The King
hurried to
Hurst Castle.

During these traverses, and the *Treaty* at *Newport* not yet finished, the King by command from *Fairfax*, was by Col. *Eure* hurried to *Hurst Castle*, a place infamous for Cold, and the Insalubrity of the Air. At parting from the *Isle*, the *Parliament-Commissioners* coming to take their leave of him, he gave them his Answer unsealed, and having acquainted them with the Condition of the Times, he told them, *He had parted with All how dear soever to him, except wherein his Conscience was dissatisfied.* And finally added, *That he had reason to believe, that this would be the last time of their interview.* But that blessed be God, he had made his Peace with him; and should without fear undergo, what he should be pleased to suffer Men to do unto him. As for them, they could not but know, that in his fall and ruin, they saw their own, and that also near to them. He prayed God, to send them better friends than he had found. He was fully informed, of the whole Plot and Carriage against him and his. But that nothing so much afflicted him, as the sense and feeling he had of the Sufferings of his Subjects, and the Miseries that hung over his Three Kingdoms; drawn upon them by those, who upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own Interests and Ends.

The Parliament
Vote his
Concessions
satisfactory.

Fairfax, by so much the more wicked, in that he witlessly acted for others, brought the Army (equally Rebels to the *Parliament* now, as they had been to the King before) to *London*; and, in Contempt of the *Treaty*, impudently took up his Quarters at *White Hall*. And yet the pretended *Parliament*, that had hitherto rejected, as well the King's Concessions, as his Demands, in contemplation of the Armies Insolence, voted *His Majesty's Answer*, to the Propositions of both Houses, to be Satisfactory. But, this was too late; for, these double Rebels were so furiously enraged thereat, that

that they immediately demanded by writing from the Parliament, *That the late accused Members, and such other who favoured the Scots, the King, or the Personal Treaty, should be excluded the Houses:* Nor were they pleased to stay for an Answer, but besetting the Senate, they seize upon One and Forty of them, whom they imprison; and seclude a Hundred and Sixty more; leaving none to sit, but such who were mancipated to *Cromwell*, and the *Faction*. The *Common-Council* was purged with the same Ingredients from the Army, the vacancies being supplied with *Plebeian fanatics*, whereof any Forty should be a *Quorum* and Superior to the Mayor. These petitioning with the same fury against the King, as the Agitators had done, involved the City in the Guilt of the *Regicide*, as well as the *Rebellion*.

The *Government* being thus changed from one Tyranny to another, the Supream Power, which the *Presbyterians* had so long hunted for, was surprized by the *Independants*. Who to shew their Authority, dissannul whatever the *Presbyterians* had voted concerning the *Treaty*, or their secluded Colleagues. And some time after, divers of the *Lords*, how degenerate! did so far compliment *Fairfax* upon his Proceedings, that they let him know, *They would waive their Titles and Priviledges, in case they should be judged burthensome to the Common-wealth, or the Peoples Liberties.*

Things being thus disposed, and the Obstacles that might hinder their premeditated *Parricide*, removed; the King, the designed Sacrifice to their hellish Ambition, hurried from one Prison to another, was brought to *Windsor*, where the usual Ceremonies of the *Knee*, and other Marks of Honour were laid aside. Col. *Harrison*, a Butcher's Son, had the Impudence to sit with his Majesty in the Coach with his Hat on, leading this most innocent and pious Prince, like

a Lamb to the Slaughter. There were yet some amongst these Barbarians, *who could not judge the King obnoxious to Law, and seeing they had vanquished him by Arms, they did not at all esteem him considerable or to be feared.* But, the furious Novellists pronounce with much bitterness, That they will have him forthwith removed. Nor durst they, who had other Sentiments, mutter against them, for fear of being expelled. Yet, these States had a mind to delegate this worst of Employments, as being unheard of, and beyond all Precedents, to be perpetrated by these worst of Men, the Souldiery. This being perceived, the Chief Officers however unnaturally desperate, yet decline it; thinking it might suffice, if they remitted the performance of so villainous an Act, to those who sate by their Favour and Permission. The *Commons* therefore of the Lower House, being scarce the eight Part of the whole, whereof many also were Commanders in the Army (so that nothing remained of a *Parliament* but the Name) arrogating the *Supream Power* to themselves, that they might seem to avoid the Infamy of Perjury, absolved themselves by an Ordinance from the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, which they had so often taken to the King; thinking perhaps, to evade what they had done separately, by this conjunct Abjuration. This done, they Vote, *That it is Treason, by the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, in the King of England, to levy War against the Parliament:* And send up the same to the *Peers* by the Lord Gray of Groby, who rejected it with Indignation, as inconsistent with Reason, and the Laws of the Land. This enraged the *Commons*, who slighting the Assent and Power of the *Lords*, unanimously decree, That,

The Commons assume the Supreme Power.

1. *The People under God, are the Original of all just Power.*
2. *That*

2. *That the Commons of England in Parliament Assembled, have the Supream Power of the Nation.*
3. *That whatever is enacted or declared for Law by the House of Commons in Parliament, hath the force of Law.*

This Foundation being laid, they constitute a *Constitute*
High Court of Justice, without any consideration *a High*
of the Lords, or those Thousands who desired to *Court of*
preserve the King from the Destruction he was *Justice.*
threatned with, and the Nation from the Guilt of
his most Innocent Blood: The Scots, by their
Commissioners, protested highly against this pre-
tended Tryal. The Dutch deprecated it, as of
most pernicious consequence to the Reformed Re-
ligion. Some of the Chief Nobility, as the Duke
of Richmond, the Marquess of Hartford, and the
Earls of Southampton and Linsey, endeavoured his
Conservation by Prayers, and Proffers; Offering
themselves, as being the Chief Ministers of his Will,
as Hostages for him; and (by a generous Example
of magnanimity) in case the Kings pretended Crimes
could not be expiated without Blood, presented their
own to be shed in lieu of his. Prince Charles, piously
endeavoured by all manner of ways, to deliver his
Father from the impending danger: For, besides
the Dutch Embassadors which his Highness had
procured to be sent over, to mediate for him;
he and the Prince of Orange enquired after, and
sent for such Officers, or others in that Country,
who were of Kindred or related to Cromwell, Ireton,
or any other of the Conspirators; and sent them
into England, with full Power to offer, present, pro-
mise and yield, to every thing; mingling Threats
with their Entreaties, that might divers them from
their designed Parricide, or at least retard it. The
Queen was no less active on her side, to save her

*Endeavors
so preserve
the King.*

Royal Consort, who also writ to *Lenthall* the Speaker, in terms capable to mollify every thing, except these *Hyrcomian Monsters*, which Letters were also delivered by the *French Embassaaor*, but laid by without being opened. Nor could there any thing in those days be expected from *France*, labouring then with the same Frenzy of Rebellion. Amongst others, the *Presbyterian Preachers*, who had betrayed the King into these Streights, pierced with the Infamy of their Treasons, and perhaps apprehending their own turns in case the *Independants* should persist, very earnestly belought, and conjured them by monitory Letters, Petitions and Remonstrances, as also admonished and exhorted them out of their Pulpits, to desist from their designed enterpize, *Lest they should defile the English Nation with so horrid a Guilt, as that of Regicide. For, that execrable fact could not be perpetrated, without violating the Obligation of so many Oaths as they had taken, without breaking the Publick Faith exhibited by so many Protestations and Declarations, without transgressing the Law of Nature and Nations; and finally, without prostituting the Dictates of the Scripture and our Religion.* But, all this was to no purpose; as also, the Princes sending of them *White Paper* to write their own Conditions. For, nothing seemed enough to them, who had swallowed all the Hopes of *Empire*, and were ready to ascend into the *Throne*. They therefore name One Hundred and Fifty of the most Petulant of the *Faction*, and the most adverse to *Monarchy*, to judge the King. Some of the *Nobility*, whom they had pitcht upon, as also the Judges, however raised to that Dignity by them, for daring to declare, *That it was not lawful to bring the King of England to Tryal*, were expunged out of that black Catalogue; others being introduced in their places.

But,

But, to encourage the doubtings of the less Persuaded, and entitle their Actions to *Providence*, these divine Jugglers, produced an Impostor, a Virgin they called her, out of *Hertfordshire*, who told the Officers of the Army, That she had a Message from *Heaven* to them; and, being admitted, affirmed, That *God* did approve of their Designs. Which did exceedingly encourage the most wavering. The Contempribleness of the Judges, did in some sort aggravate their Crimes, many *Petty-foggers, Brewers, Carr-men, Goldsmiths, Coblers*, and other *Mechanicks* being of the Number; who thirsting after the King's Revenues, as well as his Blood, were forward to perpetrate any mischief, how tremendous soever. At this *Trial*, the King was impleaded, baited and condemned, unheard, uneonvict, as Guilty of those Crimes of *Treason, Tyranny and Murder*, which those incarnate Devils, his Judges had committed. I had purposed to omit the Particulars of this Black Tragedy, as being exactly described already by better Pens. But, lest these Commentaries might prove imperfect, it was thought requisite to present the Curious, if this empty Narrative can render any such, with an *Abridgment* of the same:

Quamquam animus meminisse horret, luctuq; refugit.

The pretended *Court of High Justice*, having spent some days in settling the Method and Formalities of their Proceedings, rejected the Opinions of such, who would have the King first deposed, and then put to Death, as dangerous by its delay, and favouring of *Popery*. But, those who gaped after the Government, the *Democraticks*, would have the King tryed as King, that by the Effusion of his Blood, as such, they might extinguish *Majesty* and

and destroy *Monarchy* it self. For, several of them confessed, *That Charles his only Crime was, his being King; and, that the Eminency of his Virtues, together with his Right of Succession, rendered him incapable of being a Private Man.* They therefore, having first by their Serjeant at Arms, with sound of Trumpets, cited such profligate Witnesses as they could get, the stress of whose Depositions was, *That they had seen the King in Arms at several Battles and Encounters:* Having also the same Day, voted the making of a New Great Seal, because of the incongruity of using the King's against himself; those Sanguinary Judges met in *Worminster-Hall*, at the End whereof, they caused a Theater to be erected; on which they acted the ensuing Tragedy of Horror and Blood. *John Bradshaw*, the Shame of the Long Robe, and only known by this horrid Fact, the impudent *President* of this execrable Court, commanded the King to be brought before them,

The King where he was accused of all the Blood-shed in the late Wars; with the injurious Terms, of Tyrant, Traitor and Murtherer; and required, to give his Answer to the Charge.

The King with an admirable presence of Mind, and a Fortitude truly Royal, slighting what he had heard, instead of an Answer, demands of these Novel Judges, *By what Authority he was brought thither?* Adding, *he knew very well, that there were many unlawful Authorities, as those of Thieves and Robbers. He bid them remember, he was their King, and would know by what lawful Authority he was seated there, and he would answer?* In the mean time, he would not betray his Trust, derived to him from God, by old and lawful Descent. The *President* replied, *That he was brought thither by Authority of the People of England; by whom he was elected King.* His Majesty denied this, affirming,

ming, the Kingdom of England never to have been Elective, but Hereditary, for near a Thousand Years. He stood more for the Liberties of his People, than any there; and therefore, desired to know by what lawful Authority he was brought thither? and he would answer; otherwise, not. But the President often interrupting the King, and chattering the same Tune of the Peoples Authority, His Majesty said, That no body did more esteem a House of Commons rightly constituted, than himself. He saw no House of Lords, that might with the King constitute a Parliament. Was this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an End to the Treaty, in the Publick Faith of the World? Let him see a Legal Authority, warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or Constitutions of the Kingdom, and he would instantly answer. But, the President urging, that unless he would answer, the Court would consider how to proceed. His Majesty replied, That unless they would satisfy God and the Country, concerning the Premises, he would not betray his Trust, and the Peoples Liberty. For, he did avow, That it was as great a Sin to withstand lawful Authority, as it was to submit to a Tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful Authority. He was not afraid of their Bill. And this was the Sum of the first Days Convention.

Two Days after, the King, the Best of Princes, was again brought before these Wretches of Rebels, his Judges; Where the President, upon the Solicitor's Motion, requires his Positive Answer again, or else the Charge may be taken pro Confesso. He added, That this Court was fully satisfied with their Authority, which he also ought to acquiesce in, and therefore they yet again required, his particular Answer, by confessing or denying it. If the later, Witnesses were at hand in behalf of the Nation, to make good the Charge against him. To this the King said, If it were his own particular Case, he would have satisfied himself with the Protestation he had made against the Legality

gality of the Court, and by demonstrating, that the King of England, cannot be tryed by any Superiour Jurisdiction upon Earth. But it not being his Case alone, but the Freedom and Property of the People, he must stand for their Liberties. For, if an illegitimate Power, might make and break the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom at Pleasure, no Man could be secure of his Life or Goods. He did expect Reasons to know by what Law, what Authority they did proceed against him; but, hearing none, he would produce his, with as much brevity as he could. But, he was interrupted here, the President telling him, They must suffer no arguing, concerning the Authority of the Court, nor hear any Reasoning against it. The Votes of the Commons in Parliament, were the Reason of the Kingdom, not to be questioned by any; to which also, he, and his Predecessors, were always obnoxious and responsible. This being denied by the King; he further denied, That the Commons of England were ever a Court of Judicature. Which vexed the President to that Degree, that he told him, That he was not to be permitted to go on in that Speech and these Discourses; and, if he would not Answer, he should be resorded as contumacious. Hereupon, the King desired, That his Reasons at least might be heard; but was answered, That his Reasons were not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction; Whereunto, the King returned, That they should shew that Jurisdiction, that would not hear Reason. To which the President replied, That they shewed it him there; and, that the next time, he should know more of their Pleasure, perhaps their final Determination. Commanding withal, That they should take the Prisoner away: Who bid them remember, That the King was not suffered to give his Reasons, for the Liberty, and Freedom of the People.

The next Day, the King being brought now the Third time, before this nefarious Tribunal, continued with the same Constancy as at first, to deny the Authority of the same. And being insulted upon by the President, was required at length to submit, and that with Threats, *That although he would not understand it, he should find, that he was before a Court of Justice, which knew no respect of Persons.* But the King replied, *As for the Charge, he did not value it a Rush; it was the Liberty of the People he stood for, and therefore he neither would, nor could, being a King, acknowledge a new and unheard of Court, against their Priviledges, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land.* The President hereupon subjoyned, *That the King had now denied the Authority of the Court Three times, contemning the Dignity thereof.* Adding, *That his Actions, Writ in bloody Characters throughout the Kingdom, did sufficiently demonstrate, how far he had preserved the Priviledges of the People.*

The King had designed to deliver his Reasons in writing against the Jurisdiction of the Court. But, it was not permitted, the President, saying, *He would admit nothing against the Parliament, from which there was no appeal.* And so, the King was remitted, and the Court Adjourned.

Three Days after, the King was again brought before this Impious Court, where He desired the President (cloathed now in Scarlet, suitable to the Bloody Design of the Day) *to be heard a Word, hoping to give no occasion of interruption.* But, the President refused him, saying, *The Court must be first heard.* And thereupon told the Auditors, *how the Prisoner had been several times convented, and brought before the Court, to make Answer to a Charge of Treason, and other Crimes. Which he not only refused to do, but took upon him, to offer Reasonings and Debates against the Authority of the Court, and the Highest Court that constituted*

stimulated them to try and judge him ; which being considered, as also his Contumacy, and the Probability of the Fact, they had resolved to pronounce Sentence against him. But, the Prisoner desiring to be first heard, the Court was content to hear him, provided he said nothing against the Authority thereof.

The King then said, *Since they would hear nothing of Debate, concerning what he thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, he would waive it ; only tell them, That all Things had been taken from him this many a Day, but what he valued dearer than his Life, his Conscience and his Honour. And, if he had respect to his Life more than the Peace of the Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly he would have made a Particular Defence for himself, whereby he might have at least delayed an ugly Sentence, which he believed would pass upon him. And therefore, if his Zeal to his Country, had not overborn the Care that he had of his own Preservation, he should have gone another Way to Work. He conceived, That a hasty Sentence once passed, might be sooner repented of, than recalled. And, the same desire that he had for the Peace of the Kingdom and the Liberty of the Subject, more than his own particular, did make him now at last desire, that having something to say that concerns both, he might be heard in the Painted-Chamber before the Lords and Commons. This delay could not be prejudicial to them, whatsoever he said. If Reason, it would be worth the Hearing ; if otherwise, those who heard him might judge. He therefore conjured them, as they loved what they pretended, the Liberty of the Subject, and Peace of the Kingdom, that they would grant him a Hearing before Sentence past. If not, he did protest, that so fair shews of Liberty and Peace, were but meer shews, and not otherwise ; and, that they would not hear their King.*

This

This being heard, however the *President* had said, *That it was but a new Delay, and a farther declining the Jurisdiction of the Court*; yet there were some amongst the Judges, who would reason the Business in Private. And, lest they might seem to dissent amongst themselves, they withdrew into the *Court of Wards*. Where after some sharp Contests, They Vote, *That what the King had tendered, tended to delay*. Several of the Judges were of a contrary Opinion, desiring to know what the King would say to them. But, it was voted by the major part, in the Negative; whereupon, some of them exagitated with the Terrors of their Consciences, went away in discontent. The rest being returned into the *Court*, the *President*, in a very long nauseous Speech, ripping up all the Misfortunes and Errors committed in the Government, imputed them to the King. He further affirmed, *That Kings were inferiour to the People, and to the Laws*; producing Examples of some Kings of England deposed from the Government (which happened by *Parliaments* no less impious than this) and more particularly in Scotland, where of 109 Kings, near half were removed by untimely Ends. This tedious and hated Speech being ended, and the Charge read, the Sentence followed in these Terms,

**That Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, *He is con-*
Furtherer, and Public Enemy, shall be put *demned.*
to Death, by severing his Head from his
Body.**

It may not be from the purpose, to mention some particular Passages that intervened extraordinarily, at the various *Sessions* of this Court. The King behaved himself with that Firmness of Mind, Wisdom and Majesty, that he did nothing that was

Casualties was not truly Royal, eluding their Epithites of
that hap- Tyrant and Traytor with Smiles. Some time af-
pened, du- ter, the Head of his *Cane* falling off, he was him-
ring his self forced to take it up, not one amongst so many
Trial. *Barbarians*, offering at so small a Civility; and

perceiving the By-standers seemed to look upon it as sinistrous, he said, *That was nothing.* The Second Day, the King offered his Reasons in Writing against the Jurisdiction of the Court, but was not permitted. The Third Day of Meeting, the General's Wife (whilst he impiously commanded the equal impious Army) ventur'd to disturb the Court, when they were baiting the King, calling out, *That was a Lye.* Adding, *That the Tenth part of the People* (she might have said the Hundredth) *were not of that Opinion; but, that it was done by the Artifice of that Traytor Cromwell.* She also blamed the Subjects Irreverence to their King. In so much, that the Souldiery had much to do to silence her (though Axtel called her Whore) and others moved upon that occasion. I cannot tell, Whether this may not in some sort Parallel that of Pilates Wife. But, what I was seriously told by one that was present, of Bradshaw's Wife, comes nearer. She, the Morning of the Day that the King was Sentenced, rushing into her Husbonds Chamber, fell upon her Knees at his Feet, and dissolved into Tears and Sighs, besought her Husband, *That he would have nothing to do with His Majesty, nor Sentence this Earthly King, for fear of the dreadful Sentence of the King of Heaven. You have no Child* (said he) *and why should you do so monstrous an Act to Favour others?* But, Bradshaw bidding her get about her business, added, *I confess he hath done me no Harm, nor will I do him any, but what the Law commands.*

The Sentence being pronounced, his bloody Murderers, Seventy Two of them being present, stood

stood up, thereby expressing their Assent. After which, His Majesty was hurried away by his Guards; the Souldiers, instigated by *Axtel* and *Peters*, crying, as he went along, *Execution, Execution*, as the *Jews* had done formerly to their Saviour, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him*. To these, the King no less immoveable in Adversity, than Prosperity, replied, *Alas poor Souls! for a piece of Money, they would do so by their own Commanders*. Which also happened upon the Restauration of *Charles II.* when some of these Miscreants, cryed out for Justice against the King's Judges, with no less Violence and Clamour. There were amongst these Wretches, some who puffed Tobacco, the Smell whereof was odious to him, in his Face, and threw Pieces of Pipes, as he walked along, at his Feet, And, lest he might not be like his Saviour in his Sufferings, he was mocked, and had his Reverend Countenance defiled with Spittle; which he wiped off, with no other Reproaches, than, *That Christ had suffered more for his sake*. He spent the Rest of his Time in preparing himself for his Last Hour, however disturbed with the Questions, Cavils, Scoffings and Petulancy of the *Enthusiastick* Souldiers. All which, he either repressed by Arguments, or eluded by neglecting them. Nor did he say any thing, however provoked by Arrogancies, unusual to Princes, or unworthy his former Magnanimity.

The King delivered to the Souldiers who abuse and mock him.

Dr. Juxton, the Reverend Bishop of London, was at length admitted to wait upon the King; to whom, by reason of his Holiness of Life, and the Consolation he brought him, he was exceedingly welcome. But, coming later than he was expected, the King said to him, *That you are not come sooner, is, I know, none of your Fault; and now, seeing these Rogues will shed my Blood, you and I must consider how I may best part with it.* The

Faction

Faction had offered some of their own *Fanatick Levites*, whom the King had rejected, as miserable Comforters. *He would not pray with them, who had always pray'd against him; but, they might pray for him if they pleased.* Having then the Benefit of his own Chaplain, he prepared himself for Death so well, that he overcame the Terrors of it before it appeared. Amongst these Preludes of Death, some of the Prime Officers of the Army came to the King, offering him certain Propositions, with Promise of Life, and some Shadow of Royalty, if he would sign them. Of these, one was, *That the Army consisting of Forty Thousand Men, should be perpetuated under the Present General and Officers; and, that the Council of War, should be impow'ed to supply Vacancies from time to*

He rejects the Souldiers impious Propositions, who save his Life.

time, as occasion should happen, and settle Taxes for the Pay of the Army, to be levied by the Souldiers, &c. But, the King having read some of these Tyrannous Proposals, threw them away with much Indignation, saying, *That he would rather become a Sacrifice for his People, than thus betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives and Estates; with the Church, the Common wealth, and Honour of the Crown, to so intolerable a Bondage of an Armed Faction.* Preferring, with his usual Greatness of Mind, a Glorious Cross, before an ignominious Life. Nor did he only prefer the Public Good, before his own Particular; but, would not expose private Friends to inevitable Danger, to save himself. Which abundantly appeared at his being at *Bagshot*, where, when the *Lord Nemburg* and his *Noble Lady* had demonstrated to His Majesty, Means whereby he might elude his bloody Keepers, who led him to the Slaughter; he waved their Proposals, saying, *If I should escape, they would cut you to Pieces.*

His Children come to him. His Instructions to them.

It was some Solace to the King in his Streights, that his Children were permitted to see him. The

Lady

Lady Elizabeth and the *Duke of Gloucester*, very Young, were only left in the Power of the *Faction*; the *Duke of York* having, as is already mentioned, escaped their Bloody Hands. To these Princes, of rare Endowments and Hopes, the King gave in Charge, *That they should consider Charles, not as their Brother, but as their King; That they should forgive their Enemies; Love one another, and all of them be Obedient to their Mother.* He told them also, what * Books they should read to con-
 * Hooker's
 Eccl. Pol.
 Bish. Andr.
 Sermons
 Laud a-
 gainst Fi-
 ther.
 firm them in their Religion; and, giving them his Blessing, dismissed them in a Deluge of Tears. The *Prince Elector* and the *Duke of Richmond*, had also obtained Permission to visit the King, though His Majesty now intent only upon his *Meditations*, would not admit them, how dear soever to him.

And now, the Fatal Day, the 30th. of *January* being come, the King being guarded from *St. James's* through the *Park* on Foot, he spake to the Souldiers to go faster, saying, *That he now went before them to strive for a Heavenly Crown, with less solicitude, than he had often encouraged his Souldiers to Fight for an Earthly Diadem.* Being come to *White-Hall*, he spent most of his time there in his Devotions. And, having received the Blessed *Communion*, he was much raised, by the reading of the History of the *Passion* of our *Saviour*, described by the *Evangelist St. Mathew*; and, more particularly, when he knew it was not done upon Design, but prescribed by the *Rubrick* for the *Service* of the Day. Being brought through the *Banqueting-House* to the Stage, covered with Black; the Block, the Axe, and the masqued Executioners presented themselves to his Sight. Which did not so much dismay his Heart, fortified with Innocence and Piety, but, that his Care for the Living seemed no less, than his Solicitude for Dying. He therefore, lest he might seem to submit to the Guilt

The King
 prepares
 for his End.

as well as the Punishment, in Vindication of his Innocency, demonstrated;

That it was not He, but the Two-Houses that began the War. He acknowledges God's Justice, in punishing one Unjust Sentence with another. He not only forgiveth his most bitter Enemies, but prays also, that God will Pardon them. Being solicitous for Peace, he warns them not to seek it by Conquest; but, to give God, the King and People their due: God, by settling the Church; the King, according to Law; and, the People, by such a Government, whereby their Lives and Goods might be most their own. Finally he told them, He dyed the Peoples Martyr, and a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England.

*He his
Martyr-
red.*

After some short Prayers, he submitted his Head to the Axe; an unheard of, and surprizing Example of Human Fragility. It is wonderful, with how much Constancy and Christian Fortitude, he laid down his Head, used to wear Crowns; and, with what Meekness, who by all Laws Divine and Human, was exempt from the Penalties of any. Perhaps insulting, in that he was to change this Earthly Crown (however splendid, yet heavy) for that of Immortal Glory. As he seemed to intimate, in that prophetick *Anagram*, composed by himself, the Day preceding his *Martyrdom*.

CAROLUS REX.

Cras ero Lux.

And truly, as there was never any Parricide, except that of our *Saviour*, so detestable as this; so, never any Man was equally lamented, as this best of Princes. No Sex, nor Age, nor Order of Men was found, that did not mourn this univer-
sal

sal Loss. Children, how little soever, sensible of the Public, dissolved in Tears, could hardly be appeased. Those who were more advanced in Years, could scarce bear their Sorrow: Whilst the Weaker, not able to support their Grief, as Thunder-struck, sunk under it. And, Breeding-Women, laboured with Untimely Births; and, like her, who, *when the Glory was departed from Israel*, would admit of no Consolation. And truly, not only his own Subjects, but the Universality of Mankind (for,

Que Regio in Terris, nostri non plena Doloris?)

did lament the undeserved Fate of this Prince. Nay, the *outrageous Faction* it self, did blush to approve the Infamy of so flagitious an Act. *The Presbyterians*, to shift the Envy of it from themselves, threw it upon the *Independants*, condemning upon the Stage, what they had designed in the *Tyring-room*. But, whether out of true Sentiments of Repentance, or, that they could act no further, let them look to that; being equally *Regicides* in their intentions, though not in the Execution. *The Independants* said, *That they only put to Death, a Private Man, and an Enemy. The King had been long since killed by the Presbyterians, as being despoiled of his Prerogative, whereby he excelled others; of the Militia, wherewith he protected his Subjects; and, of his Freedom of Vote, whereby he made Laws.* They also remembred, *How he had been divested and robbed of his Liberty, as a Commoner; of the Society of his Wife, as a Husband; of the Conversation of his Children, as a Parent; of the Attendance of his Servants, as a Master: Yea, of every Thing that might render his Life comfortable. So, that there was nothing left for the Independants to do, but to put an end to the Calamities, wherewith this Man of Sorrow, had been so cruelly overwhelmed and afflicted*

by the Presbyterians. But, who ever were the Authors of this Impiety, we grieve at what they did; which, seeing it cannot be undone, we may wish, that the Memory of it may perish, with them who designed and perpetrated so Hellish a Mischief.

Their Inhumanities after his Death.

Nor had the *Scelerates* of the *Faction*, yet satisfied their Cruelty. They were inhumanly barbarous to his Dead Corps. His *Hair* and his *Blood* were sold by *Parcels*. Their *Hands* and *Sticks* were tinged with his *Blood*: And, the *Block* now chipt, as also the *Sand* (sprinkled with his *Sacred Gore*, were exposed to sale. Which were greedily bought, but, for different Ends; by some, as *Trophies* of their slain *Enemy*, and by others, as precious *Reliques* of their beloved *Prince*. It is certain, that *Cromwell*, to satisfy his greedy *Eyes*, had caused the *Coffin* to be opened in *White-Hall*; and, did with his *Fingers* search the *Wound*, as if he had still doubted of the effecting of his *Hellish Cruelty*. Nor did it suffice, to have raged against him living, and dead; they will also, for as much as in them lies, kill his very *Fame*. Which they endeavoured to do, by the enslaved *Pen* of a needy *Pedagogue*, one *Milton*. *Salmasius* indeed had writ a *Defence* for the *King*; but, he being a *Presbyterian*, as the other an *Independant*, both very good *Latin* (if we believe the Learned *Hobbs*) and hardly to be judged which is better; and, both very ill *Reasoning*, and hardly to be judged which is worst.

His Character.

And thus both *Houses*, as they had often sworn with hands lift up to *Heaven*, did make him a *Great and Glorious King*, by changing his *Fading Crown*, which they had interwoven with *Thorns*, into an *Immortal and Incorruptible* one. They made him great indeed; great in *Suffering*, in *Patience*, and great in his *Martyrdom*. Thus fell *Charles the Great and Just, Monarch* of some times

times Three flourishing Kingdoms. A great Example, if any, of both *Fortunes*. *The Best of Kings, The meekest of Men. His Countenance was Comely and Majestic. He was Constant, Valiant, Pious, Eloquent; of infinite Reason and Reading. His Integrity was entire, and no Guile found in his Mouth. His publick and private Vertues were eminent. He had been born for the Good of Mankind, if he had not fallen amongst Monsters, not Men. The best of Princes, the best of Men; the best Parent, the best Husband, the best Master. Famous for Patience, for Piety, for Chastity, for Justice; and of an unshaken Fidelity towards God and Man. His Greatness only rend'ed him Guilty; being, by the Suffrages of his most bitter Enemies, worthy of Empire, if he had not reigned.*

The Royal Corps being embalmed, and exposed for some Days to publick View at St. James's, was afterwards delivered to Mr. Herbert, one of his Servants, to be translated to *Windsor*. He had earnestly solicited, to have had it deposited in Henry VII's Chappel, near to the Monument of King James. But, they refused it, lest the Place, as they said, might be prophaned by the Superstitious Concourse of the People. He was therefore carried to *Windsor*, by the Direction of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquess of Hartford, and the Earls of Southampton and Linsey, who had got leave from the Faction for the decent Enterrment of their dear Lord, provided the Funeral-Charges did not exceed Five Hundred Pounds. These Sacred Reliques being then born by the Officers of the Garrison, attended on by the Four Lords, were laid in Henry VIII's Vault. It is observable, that though the Air was serene when they set out, before they reacht the Chappel-Door, the Herse of Black Velvet which covered them, was

*And Funer-
al.*

was all *White* with Snow; which seemed to fall, to testify their *Candor* and *Innocence*.

But, it troubled the Assistants, that the *Fanatic* Governour would not permit them the Use of the *Common-Prayer*; the *Bishop* of *London* attending there to do this Last Office to his Dearest *Master*. So, that he was interred with the Sighs and Tears of his Servants.

Lam. C.4.
V. 20.

And thus, the Breath of our Nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord, was taken in their Pits; of whom we said, Under his Shadow, we shall live among the Heathen.

COM-

COMMENTARIES

ON THE

REBELLION

OF

England, Scotland and Ireland.

PART II.

BOOK I.

The Regicides prohibit the proclaiming of the Prince of Wales. They abolish the House of Lords, and the Government by Kings. Choose a Council of State. Displace and Fine the Lord Mayor for refusing to publish the Act for abolishing of Monarchy. Declare they will maintain the Fundamental Laws. Erect a High Court of Justice. Hamilton, Holland and Capell, condemned by it and murdered. Several Acts of State. The Scots proclaim Charles II. Some Actions of the Levellers. The King leaves Holland, and goes by Brussels into France. The Duke of Gloucester,

P

chester banished. Continuance of the History of Ireland. The King at Jersey. Prince Rupert Sails from Kinsale to Portugal. Loseth his Brother Prince Maurice, by a Hurrycane. The King at Breeda, Treats and Concludes with the Scots. Montgomerie's unfortunate End. Fairfax routed, and Cromwell General. His Affairs in Scotland. The Scots barbarous Usage of the King. They are defeated at Dunbar. The King crowned at Schone. He enters England. The Battle of Worcester. The King's miraculous Escape.

Charles the Martyr being removed by a Parricide black as its Authors, as is declared in our former *Commentaries*, the Regicides endeavour with the same Fury to supplant his Son, Heir of his Diadems and Vertues; in order to which, they immediately after his Fathers Death, made an Act, prohibiting the proclaiming of the Prince of Wales without consent of Parliament, and that under pain of High Treason. This Decree being dispatched by swift Messengers into all Counties, the High Sheriffs had likewise Orders sent them, to see the same published with all Expedition; which was likewise done. Their next care was, to disable the *Secluded Members* from being admitted to sit for the future; which was performed, by voting them quite out of the *House*, as desiring no more shares in their *Oligarchy*. The *House of Lords* came next under consideration. These had sent a Message to the *Commons*, for a Committee to settle the Kingdom; which, upon no great Debate, was refused Admittance, and a Vote pass'd, that the *House of Peers in Parliament*, is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished; and consequently was laid aside: being the less pitied, because they had so unnaturally abandoned their Sovereign. Only

The Regicides prohibit the proclaiming of the Prince of Wales.

They abolish the House of Lords.

Only they had this Comfort left, that they might sit in the *Lower House* (if they had the luck to be elected) which some did, as *Pembroke, Salisbury, Escrick*. This is in no wise mentioned, to reflect upon those honoured *Peers* who attended the King in all his Fortunes; those we honour for their eminent Courage and Loyalty; but, upon that hated *Juncto*, that continued their *Session* even to this Moment. And yet they will not separate without a Protestation against these Tyrannical Proceedings of the *Commoners*, affirming, their Treason and Insolencies exceeded those of the *Malignants*, that is, the *Loyal Party*. And now, the Kingly Government was likewise abolished, under pretence, that it was *chargeable, useless and dangerous*. And that *Monarchy* which had continued from the Beginning of Times, changed into a detestable and many-headed Tyranny, under the Chymical Title of a *Free State*.

And Monarchical Government.

This being done, the *Pseudo-Parliament* (for they still abused the reverend Title of *Parliament*, by assuming it, as most grateful to the People) to ease themselves of part of the Government, choose a *Council of State*, upon which they transfer the Execution Part of the same. These were Forty in Number, chief Officers of the Army, and other principal Sticklers of the party, sufficiently infamous in their own Persons, tho they had not chosen that execrable Parricide *Bradshaw* for their President; whom they also gratify with the Donation of 2000 *l. per Annum*.

Choose a Council of State.

The City seemed all this while uneasy; which put our Usurpers, upon diminishing their Greatness; which they did. *Reynoldson*, the *Lord Mayor*, had refused to publish their Act for abolishing *Monarchy*, which enraged them to that Height, that they cast him into the *Tower*, fine him 2000 *l.* and also put him from his Employment, electing

P 2

Alderman

*Displace
and fine
the Lord
Mayor, for
refusing to
proclaim
the Act for
abolishing
Kingly Go-
vernment.*

Alderman Andrews, one of the Regicides, in his place. They further empower any Ten of the *Common Council* (which was modelled to their Design, by new choice of young, needy, enthusiastick Fellows, in stead of the grave and wealthy Citizens whom they had elected) to convent this City-Senate where they pleased, tho the *Lord Mayor* should not consent to it.

*Abrogate
Laws a-
gainst
Schism and
Here y.*

But as they had displeased some, they would content others, especially the *Populace*; which they did, by rescinding the old *Laws* against *Heresy* and *Schism*; which opening a vast Door to *Liber-
tinism*, procured them very many *Proselytes*. This *Religious Indulgence* in opinions strangely di-
stracted the *Common-wealth*, in so much, that they

burst out into infinite *Errors* and *Schisms*, being mainly animated by the *Hystriionick* preaching of their *Itinerant Teachers*, industriously displaying the *Doctrine* of the *Democrasticks*, and holding forth a *Liberty* in *Holy Things*. But, upon more serious consideration; lest these *Concessions* of *Liberty* might terminate in *Confusion*, it was thought fit, at least seemingly, to countenance *Presbytery*, as most popular; but, with a strict inhibition: For, these busy *Ministers*, were curb-
ed by an *Act*, wherein according to the method of the *Low Countries*; they were forbid, under severe *Penalties*, to meddle with any *Affairs* of *State*. They

*Allow of
Presbytery.*

moreover endeavour, to draw these *Dissenters* to their *Fold*, promising generally to all their *Preachers*, *Settlements* out of the *Kings Revenue*. Nay further, they tell these, that differing from the *King* in *Civil Interest*, puts them at a greater *Distance* from him, than any *Contests* about *Religion* would do. They add, that the *Presbyterians* first raised *War* against him, subdued him and delivered him to the *Independants* to be put to *Death*. That his *Successor* therefore would consider them, as equally

noxious

noxious and criminal; and therefore insinuate that they ought in Prudence for their own preservation, to joyn with them in their common Defence.

However, they will flatter the People, by declaring, that they were fully resolved to maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, as to the preservation of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Subject, saving those Alterations, concerning the King and House of Lords already made.

Declare they will maintain be Fundamental Laws.

And yet at this very time, they levyed Taxes, by Souldiers, permitting them free Quarters: and, contrary to all Laws, erect a pretended High Court of Justice, with the same bloody President, who being gorged with Royal Blood, would not stick at any other Sacrifice how Sanguineous soever. And now, as they had subverted Monarchy, the most excellent Form of Government, by murdering their Prince, so they will lay the Foundation of their new Republick, in the Blood of his Nobles.

But erect a High Court of Justice.

Duke Hamilton, by the Title of Earl of Cambridge, was the first that ascended this Fatal Tribunal, of whom it was doubted, whether his Ambition or Infidelity were greater. The Earl of Holland, the most ungrateful of Men, followed him; yet, both deserving our Sentiments of Pity in this, that when they would have been good they could not. Both had pleaded Quarter, but in vain, tho Hamilton had offered vast Sums for his Ransom; and Holland urged, the many Services he had formerly done for the Parliament. The generous Lord Capell, was the third in this Scene of Blood, involved in the same Fate with the other; but lamented with more real Sorrow, because of his eminent Loyalty and Vertues. He had not been wanting in his defence with those unmerciful Judges (who had already resolved his Death) chiefly insisting upon the Quarter given

Hamilton, Holland, and Capell condemned and murdered by

at Colchester; but to no purpose, *Fairfax* then in Court no less impiously than unsouldierly, interpreting, that the said *Quarter*, regarded only the Military not the Civil Power. His Colleagues had argued much in ex:enuation of the Crimes objected against them. But he being brought to the Scaffold, behaving himself with a most Christian Bravery, looking upon the People with Assurance, told them amongst other Things, That he was brought thither, for obeying the Fifth Commandment, written by Gods immediate Finger, which commands Obedience to the Magistrate; and paying his Duty to his King, the most pious, most vertuous, and most sufficient of Princes. As for the present King, having been his Councillor, he affirmed, That he never saw greater Hope of Vertue in any young Person than in him; great Judgment, great Understanding, great Apprehension, much Honour in his Nature, and a very perfect English-man in his Inclination. By which just Character, he raised and renewed the Desires of the People after so deserving a Prince. As for himself, in Imitation of our blessed Martyr's Ingenuity about the Death of the Illustrious *Strafford*; he confessed, That he had given his Vote to that Bill that took away his Life, which he greatly bewailed: And, at length, having earnestly prayed for the King, the People and his Murtherers, he was indisputably added to the Number of the Blessed.

Norwich.
and Owen
re:rieved.

The *Earl of Norwich* and *Sir John Owen* both signal for their Loyalty and eminent Endeavours in the late War, were likewise condemned to the Block; but both re:rieved by the glutted Votes of the House, tho they will make other Examples in other parts of the Kingdom. *Beaumont* a Minister, was hanged at *Pomfret*, being Chaplain to that Garrison. Major *Monday*, was shot to Death at *Lancaster*. *Morris* dyed with no less Bravery, than

Others in
oiber parts
put to
Death.

than he had lived Nine Months in the Defence of *Pomfret*. *Poyer*, one of the Three revolted Grandees in *Wales*, was likewise shot to Death; his Comrades, *Laughorne* and *Powell*, escaping by Lot, which was indulged to all, by reason of their former great Services the to *Rebel-Parliament*. There were also some others, slaughtered upon the same account; Unhappy Monuments of unfortunate Loyalty, and the Regicides Cruelty. Tho several considerable Persons, eluding the Sagacity of their Keepers, escaped; as, *Col. Massey*, *Sir Lewis Dives*, *Mr. Holden*, the Lord *Capell* (tho unfortunately betrayed into their Hands again) the Lord *Loughberow*, and others.

Nor was it only against the persons of Men that these Tyrants raged; they also seized the King and the Churches Patrimony, Revenues, Pallaces, &c. and force such of the *Cavaliers* as they did not confiscate, to a ruinous Ransom of their Estates. And now, to render the Peoples Obedience to the Usurpation more easy, they absolve them from all Oaths made to their Sovereign and his Posterity, but will exchange them with a more rigid one; obtruding an Instrument upon them, whereby, *they engage themselves to be true to the Commonwealth of England, without King or House of Lords.* And now, having declared themselves a *Free State*, make it *Treason in any, who by Word or Writing should dare to oppose them as such, or should contrive the death of the General, the Lieutenant General, or kill any Member of their Parliament.* They also put a Period to their *Monthly Fast*, God having indulged them what they fasted for, the Death of the King, and Possession of his Inheritance.

They had already made a new *Great Seal*, with this Inscription; **In the first year of Freedom by God's Blessing restored, 1648.** They also

took down the *King's Statue* from the West End of *St. Paul's*; and that other in the *Old Exchange*, putting this Inscription under the Niche in Letters of Gold, tho with no less Falseness than Impudence: **Exit Tyrannus, Regum ultimus,** 1648. But they could perswade but half of their Judges, tho all made such by them, to comply with their Change; however, they easily supplied the Vacancies. And now they proceed to another Act of State, which was, coynning of Monies, markt with the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, on one Side, and on the Reverse, with the *House of Commons*; to demonstrate thereby their Sovereignty, where-ever their Traffick might extend.

The Scots
proclaim
K. Charles
II.

The *Scots* in the mean Time (in whose power it had once been to restore the late King to his Royal Throne) exagitated with the Guilt of having sold him, found the Infamy of it aggravated by his calamitous Murther. They therefore, to vindicate themselves from so black a Crime, as they had declared their Dissent against His Majesty's Tryal, so they protested highly against his Death: and, acknowledging the Succession of his Son *Charles II.* proclaim him King with great Pomp and Solemnity; which being done, they dispatcht Commissioners to acquaint his Majesty with it, who was then at the *Hague*, attended by a noble Train of *Peers* and *Gentlemen*, who followed his Fortune.

The Story
of the Le-
vellers.

It will be now Time to return to the Army. The Faction had quite suppress the *Fast*, and Perverseness of the *Presbyterians*. And with the same ease, oppressed the *Levelling* Sect of those, who pretended to a Community, and Equality of all Things. The Souldiery actuated with the Leven of the *Agitators*, did not only dream, but consult of dividing the Possessions of the Kingdom amongst the *Godly*, that is, themselves. *Cromwell* had

had brought them to his Lure with these kind of Baits before the King's Murther, with the Hopes whereof, they were grown numerous in the Army. But seeing no Effects of these fine Promises, began to be troublesome and tumultuous; in so much, that *Lockier*, one of their Ring-leaders, was shot to Death; though sumptuously buried by the Rable of his Party. This Execution, rather incited than appeased them; and, being too feeble a Remedy for so growing an Evil, it was thought fit to separate them; which was attempted, by voting Eleven Regiments of these Mutineers for *Ireland*. But this enraged them to that Height, that perceiving that instead of enjoying those Happinesses they had been deluded with, they were exposed to new Hazards, and the Dangers of a starving War; they absolutely declare, they will not go for *Ireland*, till the Peoples Liberties, for which the Army first engaged, were secured. These also require, that the so often promised Representative might be chosen. They inveigh against the High-Court of Justice, and Council of State, as tyrannous, not without blaming the Injustice and Illegality of the Regicide. They add, That the People had only changed, not shaken off their Yoke; and, that the Rump's little Finger, was heavier than the King's Loyns, &c. And because Discourtes were fruitless, they fly to Arms. *Scrope's* Regiment of Horse, quartering at *Salisbury*, having cashier'd all their Officers, march with their Colors to joyn with those of *Harrison*, *Ireton*, *Skippon* and others (confederated by the braving of the Agitators) which they had also done, if they had not been prevented by the extraordinary Diligence of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax*, who passing Forty Miles in one Day, overtook them at *Abington*. But, being doubtful of the Event, they offer a Treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given; and till that

were

They are
supprest.

were effected, that neither Party might come within Ten Miles of each other. Things being upon these Terms, the Levellers march to Burford, where resting secure, upon the Engagement of those Twins of *Perfidy* and Ambition, the General and Lieutenant General, they had their Quarters surprized, and beaten up about Mid-night by Reynolds, where Four Hundred of them were made Prisoners, and Nine Hundred of their Horses taken. The *Democraticks* or Levellers being thus defeated, our brave Hero's march to Oxford, where both of them, Fairfax and Cromwell, were made Doctors of Law, who had themselves trampled upon all Laws both Divine and Human. After this, having visited Portsmouth, they return to London in Triumph, where after a Thanks-giving for their late Successes, they were together with their Servile Senate, invited, treated, and regaled by the more Servile City; who again, not to seem ungrateful, or rather to intangle them in their Interest, bestowed New-Park, with all the Deer in it, upon the Citizens.

Dorif-
lawes and
Ascham,
in their
Embassies.

The *Regicides* being now secure at home, at least in Appearance, began to look after Foreign Correspondence and Amities. Amongst which, the Friendship of the *United Netherlands* seemed preferable, by reason of their Neighbourhood, of their Resemblance in Government, and the Genius of the Nation. Doctor *Doriflawes*, a *Civilian*, as also a German by Birth, was sent thither with Instructions, not only to propose a strict Friendship, but also a Coalition of both People: But he was prevented in it, being assassinated in his Lodging by one *Whitford* a Scot; who with Ten or Twelve more, having perpetrated the Fact, withdrew without any Pursuit, though they were afterwards colourably summon'd in by the States. The reason of this Remissness, was his presuming to

to appear, as it were in the King's presence, having contributed so eminently to the Ruine of his Father. And thus God permitted one Injustice, to be retaliated with another. Nor had *Ajcham* (another of their Envoy's at *Madrid*) better Fate, being kill'd in his Inn, upon his Arrival, by one *Sparks* an *English-man*; who though he took Sanctuary, was pulled thence by the *Spaniard*, apprehending the rising Greatness of the new *Common-wealth*; for, the *Regicides* had declared, though they much esteemed the Amity of so great a King, yet they ought, and did require the punishment of so *Nefarious a Parricide* (as they called it) adding, that unless Justice were immediately satisfied, they did not see how the Friendship betwixt both Nations could be sincere and durable.

The King had continued hitherto at the *Hague*, ^{The King} acknowledged and revered by all; and though ^{acknowledged at the Hague.} the *States*, that they might not altogether seem to displease their Sister *Common-wealth*, of whom they began to be jealous, had dispensed with the Ceremony of Public Congratulation, yet the *Swede* and *Danish* Embassadors had saluted His Majesty with the usual Testimonies of Condolence and Congratulation. He was also King in Possession, *Scotland* having proclaimed him, and *Ireland* being upon the point of being reduced; so that, his Affairs calling him away, he left the *Hague*, and being attended by the *Princess Royal*, his Sister, and the *Prince of Orange*, his Brother-in-law (to whose generous Friendship he owed all Things) through *Rotterdam*, *Dort* and *Breda*, being received at these Places with the noise of their Cannon and Bells, and all other marks of Honour, he came to *Antwerpe*, the principal City of the *Spanish Netherlands*, where he was magnificently entertained and presented with a rich Chariot, and Eight brave Horses, sent him by *Arch-Duke Leopold*, ^{Treated magnificently by the Arch-Duke.}

Goes into
France.

fold, Governour of the *Low-Countries*. His Majesty was also Royally treated by him at *Brussels*; from whence after some Stay, being conveyed on his way to *France* by the *Duke of Lorrain*, and feasted and honoured every where with the same Grandeur, as if the King of *Spain* had been there; he came to *Compeigne*, where the *French King*, accompanied with a great Train of his Nobility, received him with all the Testimonies of Affection and Honour, and brought him thence in State to his Mother, the *Queen of Great Brittain*, then at *St. Germain*.

The Lady
Elizabeth
dies, and
the D. of
Gloucester
is
banished.

Whilst the King was in *France*, the *Duke of Gloucester*, his Brother, and the *Lady Elizabeth*, his Sister, both *Princes* of divine Endowments and Hopes, were removed from the *Earl of Northumberland's* Guardianship, to *Carisbrook Castle*, (infamous for having been the Prison of their Martyred Father) to the custody of that impure Villain *Anthony Mildmay*; where the *Princess* (afflicted with the daily Sight of that odious Mansion, and consumed with Grief, and the Maladies it occasioned) breathed her last, being denied by those barbarous Parricides, the Assistance of such Physicians as she had desired. Her Brother the *Duke*, was presently after banished out of *England* by the *Regicides*; the only agreeable Thing they did, in relieving him out of their Bloody Hands by their own Act.

Continuation
of the
History of
Ireland.

The Kingdom being thus subdued, and the Army reduced to Obedience; the *Mock-Parliament* or *Rump* (for, it grew famous, by that Title of Infamy) thought *Ireland* now worthy their consideration. They therefore Vote Eleven Regiments to be sent thither, under the conduct of *Cromwell*, with the Title of *Lord Governour*, whereof he was very fond, which he could not forbear testifying for all his Dissimulation. The Fame of these

Prepa-

Preparations immediately flew over, which obliged the *Irish* Rebels, however dissenting amongst themselves, to think of uniting for their Public Safety, and, although the *Nuntio* opposed this *Confederation* with all his Power, excommunicating the Authors of it, whilst they declared him and his Party Traitors, resolving to force him by Arms; which they did, driving him into *Galloway* The Popes Nuntio expelled. for his security, where they pressed him so hard, that notwithstanding the Thunder of his Excommunication, he was necessitated for his personal safety, to abandon his Principality and the Kingdom.

The *Irish* Grandees thus at Liberty, invite and obtain the *Marquess* of *Ormond* (as is mentioned in our former *Commentaries*) with an Assurance of an entire Obedience to his Majesty's Lieutenant. He being arrived, the *Confederates* grew formidable by the Accession of the *Lord Inchiquin*, President of *Munster*; and the *Scots* in the *Province* of *Ulster*. Both these had served the Parliament with much Vigor, until the King and Monarchy had been destroyed in *England*; but abhorring the sordid Tyranny of the *Regicides*, they deserted that Party they had so unjustly followed, and return to their Duty and Allegiance to their Sovereign.

Owen-Roe-Oneal refused to be included in the *Confederacy*, upon pretence that sufficient Provisions had not been made for the Security of their Religion; but, in reality, because the Confederate Delegates, had foolishly denied the no extravagant Conditions, which his Quality seemed to require, and he had demanded. The Difference was about the Command of Four Thousand Men, which they were willing to grant, and Six Thousand which he insisted upon, which they afterwards too late (after his conjunction with
Monk

Monk and Coote, and his relieving of *London-derry* were glad to assent to.

The Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

During these Traverses, the *Marquess of Ormond* entered upon the Government, but with too precarious an Authority: for, he was forced to grant every thing the *Irish* insisted upon; and consent, that *Inchequin* should have *Munster* entire to himself, for the subsistence of his Army; which was indeed the Ruin of the Old *Irish* Regiments of that Province. The Peace being thus made up, and these several Interests, however ill cemented, seeming to acquiesce in the main, their Obedience to the King; an Army was raised by the extraordinary Labour and Prudence of the *Lord Lieutenant*, and being reinforced with the considerable Troops of the Lords, *Inchequin*, *Clarrickard* and *Castel-Haven*, they marched towards *Dublin*. *Inchequin* was by the Impatience of the *English* and *Scotts* Forces, declared *Lieutenant General* of the Army. *Clarrickard* and *Castel-Haven* seem disgusted with this Preference, tho both acquiesced, preferring their Loyalty before the satisfaction their Merits might deservedly challenge. *Col. Jones*, Governour of *Dublin*, advanced with his Forces as far as the *Naas* to obstruct the March of the Army; but being unequal in Numbers, retreated into the City again. *Ormond* had omitted no Caresses, to draw this brave Rebel to his Party and Duty again; but in vain, he obstinately persevering in an Infidelity which he had engaged in, for Spite, because a *Lieutenant Colonel* had been preferred over his Head. Which may serve for a President, not to prejudice deserving Men in their just pretences; tho no Excuse can serve to vail those abominable Sins of Perfidy and Rebellion.

Raised an Army.

Ormond encamped his Army at *Finglas*, being content at present to shut the Garrison within their

their Walls, and keep them from foraging, until the several parts of his Army were come up to him. *Inchequin* now *Lieutenant General*, was sent with a strong Party to reduce the neighbouring Fortresses, possess'd by the Enemies Garrisons; which he did, defeating also a *Batalion* of *Omeal's* Men commanded by *Farell*, marching to the Relief of the *Nuncio*. He also routed the younger *Coot* with the *Dublin-Horse*, and had *Dundalk* delivered to him by the Garrison, who also entered into the *Kings Pay*, notwithstanding the endeavour of Colonel *Monk* their Governour to the contrary, and their promises to stick close to him. *Trym*, the *Newry* and *Tredagh* it self, ran the same Fortune; so that all being cleared on that side, *Inchequin* returned triumphant, and increased in numbers by so many Victories, to the Camp again; where it was forthwith resolved, by Advice of the Peers and the Council of War, to invest and press the City with all their power.

*Inche-
quins suc-
cess.*

Dublin, the Seat of the Kingdom and the War, called by *Ptolomy*, *Eblana*, and by the *Irish*, *Balacleigh*, because founded upon Piles and Hurdles, is seated at the Mouth of the *Liffny*, which would render the Haven very commodious, but that it is obstructed by Heaps of Sand, often thrown up by Reciprocation of the Sea. This City was first fortified with Works and a Garrison by the King, and after by the Parliament, being now very defensible by its Numbers and Fortifications. But, the *Lord Lieutenant* relying upon his great Army, consisting of at least Twenty Thousand, and the Defection of the Souldiers in *Dublin*, whereof most had formerly served under his Command, and daily came over to him, resolved upon a vigorous and close besieging of the Place; in Order to which, leaving the *Lord Dillon* with a strong Party at *Castel-knock*, he transferred his Camp to the

*Ormond
besieges
Dublin.*

the South side of the City; and, that he might wholly shut up the Enemy, and particularly their Horses and Cattel from grazing, he commanded a Fort to be built at *Baggot-rath*, giving the Charge of this considerable Trust to *Patrick Purcell*, Major-General of the Army. Some Regiments from *England* were in the mean time Landed at *Dublin*, under the Conduct of *Reynolds* and *Venables*, to the Number of Three Thousand Horse and Foot; whereupon, a Rumor was spread, that *Cromwell* himself designed for *Münster*, as not yet confirmed in their Defection from their late Masters. This Report obliged *Inchequin*, to desire the Lord Lieutenant's permission to go thither, affirming, all his Troops would revolt, unless prevented by his speedy Repair to them; which *Ormond*, not being in a condition to refuse, was forced to assent to. He parted then with Eleven Hundred Horse, dividing thus the Army, whereas the whole did scarce suffice for the Enterprize in Hand.

Aug. 22.
1648.

The Siege
is raised.

Jones the Governour of *Dublin*, perceiving the Progress of the Work at *Baggot-rath*, and considering that if it were finished, it would entirely shut him up from all Commerce by Sea as well as Land, resolved to obstruct it by a vigorous Sally; which he did; for, the Garrison rushing out upon the Pioneers, easily dispersed them, and with the same Facility dispersed the Watch that guarded them, and possessing the Place, routed the amazed *Irish*; and, their Courage encreasing with their Success, they pursued them to the Avenues of their Camp, where falling upon the Guards there, who seemed rather to look on, than prepare for Defence, they put them likewise to Flight. The remaining Garrison in the Town, seeing the success of their Friends, together with the Inhabitants, flew all to their Assistance, and with very little Pains, obtained

tained a very great Victory. For, the Army being upon the sudden surprized, with a more than Panick Fear, the Souldiers forgetful of their Defence, threw down their Arms and ran away. In this Confusion, there were about Three Thousand slain, amongst whom Sir *William Vaughan* was one, who had also fought well: The Prisoners were no fewer. *Collonel Butler*, the *Lord Lieutenant's* Brother, and a Hundred Officers, being of the Number. The Cannon, the Camp, and the immense Spoils of it, fell to the present sharing of the Conquerors; and, presently after, the whole Kingdom, the Forces of it being irrecoverably lost by this Blow. *Ormond* who had spent the Night on Horseback in rounding and viewing the several Posts of the Army, being but newly laid to rest, was raised, by the coming of the *Lord Taffe*, General of the Ordnance, but too late, the Camp being distracted with Fear, and its Consequence, Confusion. He therefore, in this General Consternation, having in vain opposed himself to this resistless Torrent, until abandoned by them that followed him, hastened to the *Lord Dillon's* Camp; but those *Irish* had fled upon the Noise, having scarce seen the Enemy.

About this Time *London-Derry* was likewise relieved by *Owen Roe-Oneal*, the most bloody of the *Irish* Rebels; who leaguings with *Coot* and *Monk*, as above mentioned, forced the *Scots* from that Siege. London-Derry relieved.

But, as if these Misfortunes had been but light ones, they were followed by a grievous Plague, brought to *Galloway* by a *Spanish* Vessel; which raged with that Fury, that it swept away many Thousands in that City, and the Neighbouring Country. To heighten these Calamities, *Cromwell*, the worst of Plagues, who ruined not only Persons, but whole Cities and Provinces, Landed at

Q

Dublin

Cromwell
Lands in
Ireland
with an
Army.

Dublin with an Army of Fifteen Thousand, Horse and Foot. They were not very forward till they heard the Siege was raised, and the *Royallists* overcome; and, in probability, if *Dublin* had been taken, would never have attempted the Re-Conquest of *Ireland*. But now they flye to share in the Spoils of a regained Kingdom, and *Cromwell* will triumph for another's Victory. Having refreshed and mustered his Army, he marched with it to *Tredah*. This Town was well fortified, and a Garrison in it of Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot and Three Hundred Horse, the Flower of the Royal Army, under the command of Sir *Arthur Aston*, a brave and experienced Souldier. The *Lord Lieutenant* had foreseen, that this Place, by reason of its Neighbourhood and Situation, would be first attempted; it not being advisable in the Enemy, to leave so considerable a Fortress behind him. And, he hoped he might have time to recruit his shattered Army, and repair the Loss of his late Overthrow, which he endeavoured with all his Might, whilst *Cromwell* was employed in the difficulties of the Siege. But, this impatient Conqueror, omitting the common Forms of approaching and turnings, fell to battering, and made two accessible Breaches in the Walls, which were Twice bravely assaulted, and Twice no less valiantly defended, the Enemy being as often repelled; until reinforced by *Cromwell's* presence and conduct, renewing the Storm, having slain *Collonel Wall* in the Breach, they at length entered. A tumultuous offer of Quarter being made, and accepted sooner than it ought to have been, was the Ruine of the Defendants, and, by their incautious Facility, of the whole Garrison: For, the Town being thus taken, they were all put to the Sword; though they did not fall unrevenged, for they fought in every Street, the Market-place, and from

from the Houses and Towers whither they had retreated. *Ashton* the Governour, withdrew into the Castle, where the Enemy entring Pell-Mell with his Men, slew him. Others who fled into a Tower, imploring the Enemies Clemency, were forced to yeild to a Decimation, about Thirty of the Remainder of them, being condemned to the *Plantations* in the *Western Islands*. There fell besides the Governour, several brave Men, amongst whom *Sir Edmond Varney*; the Collonels, *Warren*, *Flemming*, and *Brinn*; Lieutenant Collonel *Finglass*, Major *Tempest*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers. The Garrison being slain, the City was spoiled and pillaged; and, though it had repelled the Fury of the *Irish Catholic-Rebels* for three whole Years, it did not suffice to resist the Force of the *English Fanatick Rebels*, the Space of one Week.

Takes Tredah.

I would not condemn the promiscuous slaughter of the Citizens and Souldiers, of Cruelty, because it might be intended for Example and Terror to others, if the like Barbarity had not been committed elsewhere. The Garrison of *Trim* and *Dundalk*, apprehending the Fate of *Tredah*, quit them; which the Enemy having taken possession of, *Cromwell* marches with his Army to *Wexford*; and, having routed a Party of *Inchequin's* in his way, had the Castle betrayed to him by *Stratford* that commanded it. The Town was otherwise strong by Situation, and a good Garrison; but being thus surprized, was assaulted, and entred, all being put to the Sword with the same Cruelty as at *Tredah*. *Wexford* being taken, he hasts to *Rosse*, *Wexford* a Port capable of very great Vessels, seated upon the Banks of the *Barron*. After some great shot, this Place was delivered undefended, and in sight of the King's Army, by *Luke Taffe*, who was permitted to pass with his Garrison, consisting of Fifteen Hundred

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Hundred Men, to *Kilkenny*, besides Six Hundred *English*, who deserted and took Pay with their Country-men. *Cromwell*, after so easie a Victory, passes the River upon a Bridge of Boats, with design to force *Ormond* to Fight, or oblige him to separate his Army. The *English*, in the mean time, besieged *Duncannon*, which was relieved by an Artifice of *Castel-haven's*. He sent over in Boats, (the Tract being at least Three Miles) by favour of the Night, Fourscore Horses, with their Saddles and Accoutrements, but without Riders. These were mounted by *English*, most Reformato-Officers; who, under the Conduct of *Collonel W'oogan*, the Governour, sall'y'd out with so much Suddeness and Vigour, that the Enemy, knowing they had no Horse before, and feeling them now, fancied that the *Royallists* from without, had broken into their Camp; with the Apprehension whereof, leaving some Cannon behind, they tumultuously ran away.

Duncan-
non re-
lieved.

The King's Army was by this very numerous and strong, being increased by the Forces of *Inchequin*, *Ardes*, and *Oneal*; who being rejected by the *Fanatics*, had also complied. But, they omitted a fair Opportunity in not attempting it, that is, to wage Battle, their Souldiers being chearful and willing, and the Enemy on the other side, weary and faint with so many Toyles and Sickneses. But, these Forces, how great soever, mouldered away through the Dissensions of their Chief-taines; for want of Pay, and conveniencies; by the Aversion of the great Cities and Towns, which refused to contribute to the Public; and by the daily deserting of the *British*, allured by the Temptation of *Cromwell's* Mony and his promises of Preferment. By these means, *Reynolds* took *Carrick*, in part betrayed to him; which the *Royallists* attempted to recover in vain. *Cromwell* who had

had lain sometime Sick at *Rosse*, being restored to his Health, formed a Design upon *Waterford*, which he notwithstanding deferred, when he perceived the Constancy and Resolution of the Citizens to defend themselves. And now, not willing to tempt Fortune any further, having taken *Passage Fort*, a very strong Place, he resolved to put his Souldiers into *Winter-Quarters*: which he also did, very opportunely, by the traiterous Surrender of *Corke*, *Youghall*, and the other Fortresses of *Munster* into his Hands.

The Chief Towns of Munster revolt to the Regicides.

Ormond prest also with want of Necessaries to subsist, with having attempted *Passage* and *Wexford* (this by *Inchequin*, and that by *Tarell*) in vain, was also necessitated to send his Army into Winter Quarters, but too separate and far distant from each other. The *Ulster* Men, except Sixteen Hundred, sent to *Clonmell*, returned home, to choose another General in *Oneal's* place lately dead, as was agreed. Others were distributed into other Places; *Tasse* to *Conaught*, *Inchequin* to the County of *Clare*, and *Dillon* into *Mube*. It is scarce credible, with what Industry and Prudence, *Ormond* endeavoured to allay the wild Animosities and Dissensions of the Confederates, though to little purpose, which occasioned the daily Defection of the Souldiers. And now, the *Irish* as well as *Brittish*, allured by the *Regicides* Successes and Invitations, as also deterred with the Plague that raged amongst them, together with want of Pay and Necessaries, ran by Troops to *Cromwell's* Camp. Hereupon, *Ormond* seriously considering the untoward State of Affairs, having appointed *Castelhaven* Governour of *Lemster*, he himself removed to the County of *Clare*, to raise new Forces, to oppose, for as much as in him lay, the Enemies Progress.

The Confederates dispersed into Quarters.

Kilkenny
besieged
and sur-
rendered.

But *Cromwell* being abundantly furnished with Recruits and Provisions out of *England*, the Winter drawing to an End, takes the Field ; and having possessed himself of some Neighbouring Garrisons, forced *Goram*, betrayed by the Sedition of the Souldiers, causing *Hammond* the Governour, with some of his chief Officers, to be shot to Death in Cold Blood. This done, he marched with his victorious Troops to *Kilkenny*. This City, the Nursery of the late Rebellion, and the Residence of the *Supream Council*, was by the Diligence of *Castle-haven*, well provided with Defendants and Provisions. Nor were they wanting in a generous Defence, having repelled the Enemies Assaults with Slaughter of them. But all Hopes of relief vanishing, *Collonel Butler*, the Governour, at length surrendered it upon reasonable Conditions. *Clomell* ran the same Fortune, though *Hugh O'neal*, who commanded there, having beaten off the reiterated Assaults of the Enemy, and slain above Two Thousand of their Men, was necessitated through want of Powder to quit the place, which he did with so much Secresie, that the Enemy ignorant of it, gave very good Conditions to the Towns-men next Morning. The *Bishop of Rosse* with Four Thousand Foot and Three Hundred Horse attempted to, relieve it ; but unhappily, being routed and taken by the *Lord Broghill*, who without any Respect or Reverence to his Character, caused him to be hanged up.

The Bishop
of Rosse
taken and
hanged.

The Bishop
of Clogher
was the
same fate.

Emir Mac Mahon, *Bishop of Cloger*, who succeeded *O'neal* in the Command of the *Ulster Army*, ran the same Fate : for, being overcome by *Coot* and *Venables* (who had joyned him with Two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse of *Cromwell's Army*) he was also hanged. *Coot* with the same Facility over-ran *Ulster*, routing both *Scots* and *Irish* that opposed them, and rendering himself Master of their Garrisons on all sides.

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It is now Time to sail back into *England*, where *Cromwell* is likewise hastening, leaving his Son-in-Law *Ireton* in *Ireland*, to finish what he had so prosperously carried on, and put an End to the Reliques of that War, whilst he himself is destined to new Empires, and new Triumphs. Nor was there indeed any thing of moment done by the Mock-Parliament, without his Consent, or in his Absence, save, that the *Regalia* and the Revenues of the *Church* were exposed to Sail, and a nefarious Tribunal of *Mock-Justice* erected, as well to terrifie as enslave the People.

During these Traverses, the *Scots* apprehending the Changes of the *Presbyterians* in *England*, were glad to look back towards their own King, whom they had so cruelly offended. They knew it would be no difficult Business, to raise an Army by the Influence of his Name and Title. Nor were they mistaken; tho taking Advantage of his Necessities, they would impose upon him; and therefore demand, amongst other Things, That he shou'd take the Covenant; ratify the Decrees of the late Parliament; revoke his Commission to *Montrosse*; drive *Papists* from his Court and Presence; renounce his Negative Voice in Parliament; and name a place in the *United Provinces*, where they might further treat of all Things. These Propositions, were sent by *Windram* of *Liberton*, to his Majesty who was then at *Jersey*, whither he was retired out of *France*, upon the little Prospect of Relief from that Court: as also to be nearer *England*, where the *Levellers* were stirring; and near *Ireland*, now wholly, except *Dublin* and *London-derry*, at his Devotion. The *Confederates* had earnestly desired his Presence amongst them; and 'tis not doubted, if he had gone thither, but that he would have been absolute Master of the Kingdom. Others were of another Opinion, urging, that if he mis-

carried in *Ireland*, he would also loose the Hopes he had conceived of the *Protestants* in *England* and *Scotland*. As if a *Sovereign Prince*, were not permitted to make use of his own *Subjects*, of what *Religion* soever they were, for his *Service* and *Defence*; especially, they being willing to assist him, and he satisfied in their *Loyalty*.

But, when the News of the Overthrow at *Dublin* came, the *Scots* demands were taken into Consideration. Some of the *Council*, seemed to reject all kind of Commerce with that People, affirming, *That as they had sold and betrayed the Father, so when their Fear and Covetousness prompted them, they would serve the Son, and therefore there was no Faith to be given to such Perfidious Men.* But others more moderate in their Councils, advised the King, *by no means to omit the Opportunity which so fairly offered it self, but immediately to close with the Scots: for, that Kingdom being recovered, his Attempts upon the other would be less difficult.* The *Queen-Mother* was also of

He is returned with a satisfactory Answer.

this Opinion, and so was *Montrosse*; who offered now, to go into Banishment, as *Strafford* formerly to Death, voluntarily, rather than interrupt so Hopeful a Peace. The King at length perswaded (tho not without Repugnancy) dispatcht *Windram* back into *Scotland* with no unpleasing Answer, and Assurance, that he would do every thing for the Good of his People; appointing moreover *Breda*, a Town in *Brabant*, for the Place of Treaty; commanding and desiring the *Committee of Estates*, to send Commissioners thither, to meet him on the 5th of *March* following.

1649.

Windram being sent into *Scotland*, the King left the Island, as well upon Account of the *Regicides* Preparations to invade it, as of his being at *Breda* by the Time appointed for the Treaty. Whilst the King is in his way, it may be proper to say somewhat

what of the Royal Fleet, under the Command of *Prince Rupert*. The *Rebels* being too strong for him, he was necessitated to shelter himself in the Haven of *Kinsale*, where he had long been shut up by them. And now *Cromwell* approaching the City with his victorious Army to besiege it by Land, he was forced to adventure to Sea, and did break through the Enemies Fleet with the Loss of Three of his Ships; and, directing his Course for *Lisbone*, he entred the River *Tagus* with full Sail, where he found not only a friendly Reception, but Protection also from that *Prince*. The *Rigicides* irritated with this Civility, declare War against the Author of it; and sending *Blake* with a Fleet, blockt up the Mouth of the River, extremely interrupting the Traffick of *Portugal*, by seizing their Ships in their Return home. He lay long there; but not being able to oblige that King by Intreaties or Force to abandon the *Prince* he at length, his Provisions being spent, was constrained to go seek for more. The *Prince*, taking the Opportunity of his Removal, put to Sea, and sailing towards *Malaga*, took and burnt several *English* Vessels; but, *Blake* pursuing him, mastered and seized the *Roe-buck*, a good Man of War, and forced Five more upon the Rocks and Shore. The *Prince* escaped this Misfortune, tho reserved for a greater; for, being forced into the *Western Islands*, *Prince* after many Hazards and Adventures, *Prince Maurice* being separated from his Brother in that *lost in a* Tempestuous Ocean, perished in a Hurricane. *Hurricane.* The immature Fate of this Royal Youth, was justly lamented by the Good and Brave; for, being no less eminent for Fortitude, Gentleness, Greatness of Mind, and all other Vertues, than Illustrious for his Birth; he was snatcht away, leaving his Fame to his Posterity, and to us his Contemporaries, the Desire of him.

The

*The Treaty
at Breda.*

The King being come to *Breda*, met the *Scots-Commissioners*, who attended his Majesty some Miles out of Town. The first Congress was fair, but the Disceptations and Arguings in the *Treaty*, long and sharp. The main Disputes were, about the *Covenant*, the *Directory* and the *Catechism*. And, tho the said *Covenant*, did naturally regard the People, not the Sovereign; yet, the Commissioners, instigated by the *English Presbyters*, did so obstinately adhere to them, that they refused to grant the King that Liberty in Holy Things, which they challenged to themselves. But, to sweeten him, they promise, if he would consent to their Demands, that they would not only restore him to the *Scottish Throne*, but assist him in the Recovery of the rest of his Dominions, and to bring to condign punishment the execrable Murderers of his Royal Father. His Majesty readily consented to the Civil Part of their Proposals, remitting all Things to the Determinations of Parliament, but stuck at the other; until overcome by the Perswasions of the *Prince of Orange*, and the greatest part of his Council, as also by the Desperateness of his Affairs, ruined both by Sea and Land; he, tho very unwillingly, at length yielded. And now the Treaty was upon Conclusion, when the unfortunate Defeat and Death of *Montroffe*, had like to have quite broke it off.

Those who were averse to any Agreement with the *Scots*, took Occasion hence to dissuade his Majesty, from having any Commerce with them; daily inculcating to him, *That this perfidious Nation, had no other thought but of his Ruine, because they had in the very time of Treaty, so inhumanly murdered his Lieutenant*. But, no Man did more affectionately bewail the immature and cruel End of this excellent Personage, than the King himself; who did not cease to expostulate the

the Injury done him in it, by so barbarous an Act of Hostility, even then whilst they pretended to Peace. But Time, and the Necessity of his Affairs, did somewhat allay his Resentments; so, that the Treaty being at length happily concluded, he and the Commissioners embarking at *Scheveling*, with Young *Trompe*, sailed towards *Scotland*. *Concluded.*

Whilst His Majesty is upon the Ocean, it will not be impertinent to be more particular in the sad History of the illustrious *Montrose*. Our former Commentaries, have noted those Actions of Glory he had performed in *Scotland*, with the Lustre whereof he appeared so eminent in the Courts of Foreign Princes, that his Exile seemed rather a Progress than Banishment, until the Commands of the King obliged him again to arm and invade his Ungrateful Country. This was done by his Majesty, with Design, that by the known Valour of the General, he might force his untractable Country-men to more Equal Terms. But, the Event proved unsuccessful. *Scotland* was then full of Armed Men, and their Forces intire; whereas, he had scarce Seven Hundred Soldiers with him when he landed. Nay, the Inhabitants either wearied with the War, or terrify'd with the noise of Foreigners, came but slowly in to him, notwithstanding his known Valour and Conduct; but, forsaking their Dwellings, fled with their Fears about them, and filled the Country with the Apprehension of this Pretended Invasion. Hereupon, *Lesley* was sent with the Army to suppress this new Enemy, who was also defeated by *Straugham*, sent before with a Party of Three Hundred Horse, and being betrayed by the Laird of *Aston*, one he had entrusted with his Safety, was taken, and murdered, with all the dire Circumstances of Enraged Malice, and his Quarters sent to the Four principal Cities of the Kingdom, to be fixt over their

*The last
Scene of
Mont-
rose's
Actions.*

their Chief Gates. It is strange, with what Firmness of Soul, and unshaken Constancy, he heard this dreadful Sentence, saying only, *That he took it for greater Honour, to have his Head fixt upon the Prison Gate in such a Cause, than to have his Picture in the King's Bed-Chamber. And, lest his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him, in designing lasting Monuments to Four of the Chiefest Cities, to bear up his Memorial to all Posterity; wishing, he had had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in Christendom, to Witness his Loyalty to his King and Country.* Being ready to mount the Scaffold, they put a Rope over his shoulders, with his Declaration and History fastened to it; which he wore with the same Calmness as formerly, affirming, *That he embraced that, with no less Alacrity, than he had done the Garter, when he was admitted of that most Honourable Order, by his present Majesty.* He further asked these Barbarians, *Whether they had any more Dishonour to put upon him.* And thus ended this renowned *Marquess*, not unjustly paralleld to the great Captains of Antiquity, if he had not fallen in the Untimely Prosecution of a most Just Cause.

The King having elcaped the Dangers at Sea, and eluded the Snares laid for him by the *English*, landed (having been convoy'd by Three Men of War, lent him by the *Prince of Orange*) at *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*; where being received by a Noble Train of Attendants, and welcomed by the grateful Acclamations of the People as he passed, he came to *Edinburgh*. His reception there from the Parliament, and Committees of the *Kirk*, was honourable, and with all the Appearance of Affection and Loyalty; the People congratulating his happy arrival, with continual, and perhaps more sincere Shouts of Joy. And, now the Second Time, he was proclaimed King of *Scotland*,

July 15,
1650.

Scotland, England and Ireland; tho his Coronation was deferred as yet, by reason of the pressing Difficulties of the War.

The *English Parricides* were not ignorant of these Triumphs and Preparations of their Neighbours, and were also informed of their promises to restore the King. They had Intelligence of what was transacted in *Scotland*, by their Friends there; and of what was done at Court, by their Spies and Hirelings about the King. They therefore, to prevent a War at their own Doors, resolve to transfer it to the Enemy, as well to prevent their Invasion of *England*, as to remove into another Country the Calamities that attend Camps and Armies. But, *Fairfax* could not be perswaded to bear Arms against the Scots, their Brethren, and sworn Confederates; his Aversion to it being much fortified by his Wife, and the Presbyterian Teachers. Nor was the *Mock Parliament* much concerned at his Refusal; for, thinking they had done enough, in having sent a Committee to perswade him, they conferred the Generalate upon *Cromwell*, lately called out of *Ireland* to this Purpose.

Cromwell having at Length obtained what he had so long coveted, the Command of the Forces of the *Commonwealth*, high with this Accession of Honour, prepares vigorously for War; and hastening to the Army, he mustered it near *Berwick*, Sixteen Thousand strong, brave Men, and well accoutred, flected with so many Victories, and confident of Success. He, thus accompanied, enters *Scotland*, having sent his Declaration before him, July 22.
1650. amongst other Things, denouncing War against them, because they had proclaimed Charles Stuart King, who was their Publick Enemy, and had promised to support him against the Commonwealth of England.

Being

Being come to *Dunbar* without seeing an Enemy, the Inhabitants being all fled, tho he had invited and courted their staying at Home, he refreshed his Army there with Rest and Provisions, brought by shipping out of *England*. From thence he marcht to *Musfelbourg*, with Design to attempt the *Scots*, who lay encamped not far off. But, being opposed by the Rains, the adverse Tempests, and the Toyls of his Men, who lay in the open Field; he was forced to return to his Camp again. The Enemy pursued him close, charging and continually disturbing his Rear, until they were repressed by *Lambert* and *Whaley*, who hastned thither with fresh Supplies. The following Night, *Montgomery* and *Straugham*, with Fifteen Troops of Horse, fell upon the *English* with so much Violence, that having forced their Guards, and beaten a Regiment of Horse that seconded them, they brought Terror into the rest of the Army. But, these recollecting themselves, the *Scots* were charged by Parties that hastened to the Danger from all Sides; and, being way-laid by *Okey* in their Return, they bravely broke through, and returned after much Dammage given and received, to their own Camp. The King was then accidentally in the Army, by whose conduct (for seeing the danger of the Men, he had hastened to their Assistance) their Retreat was secured. The Chief of the Army, and the turbulent Delegates of the *Kirk*, were much vexed at it, urging the Kings Departure. Nor would they suffer this magnanimous Prince, to stay in the Camp, pretending the danger of his Person; but more truly, lest, as it appeared in that Encounter, he should gain too much upon the Souldiers Favours, and thereby render himself Master of that Army, which had been raised by the auspicious Influence of his Name.

There

There were Three prevalent Factions in *Scotland* at that Time. The First and Greatest, was that of the *Parliament* and *Kirk*, which would indeed have a King, but precarious, and one who should govern as they directed. Another Faction, was of the most rigid *Presbyterians*. These dreaming of I know not what *Theocracy* or Government by the Church, equally abhorr'd both King and Commonwealth as profane. But this, upon the Defeat of *Strathgarn* and *Kerr* by *Cromwell*, quickly vanished. The Third was, that of the *Royalists*, but unarmed, and excluded from Publick Employments; to which the King was forced to retire, in Expectation of better Times.

The *English*, in the mean time, raised with some small Successes, as the taking of *Collington*; and *Red-House* by storm, endeavoured to draw the *Scots* to Battle. They approached their Camp; seemed carelessly to wander under their Trenches; and with the contumely of Words, daily dared them to fight; but in vain, for the *Scots* were fixt not to adventure the Hazard of a Battle, but to overcome the Enemy without Danger, with Hunger, Cold, Sickneses, and the Rigor of the Climate. *Cromwell* seeing then he could not force the *Scots*, by reason of the Situation of their Camp, nor oblige them to fight out of it; his Provisions being likewise spent, he determined to bring his Army back to *Dunbar*; which he also did, tho not without much Difficulty by reason of the close pursuit of the *Scots*. From thence he resolved to return with what haste he could, with his sick and weary Forces, by Sea or Land, for *England*; for, he despaired of any Hopes of Success in this inauspicious Expedition.

Dunbar is a Sea Town, seated betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, surrounded on the Land side with Mountains and Precipices; which are likewise so steep,

sleep, that there is but one passage at *Copperspeith* scarce large enough for Ten Men a-breast, which was also possessed by the Enemy, who now insultingly bragged (which they might also have performed, if God had not infatuated their Understandings,) That they had the Army of the *Schismatics* in a Pound.

And thus this so famous a *Leader*, had brought his Army, by ill Conduct, into such Streights; that all his Glory got by so many Victories, had vanish'd in Infamy, if Fortune and the Follies of his Enemies, had not contributed to his Relief. For, it would have proved a business of extreme Difficulty, to have shipt his Men, they pressing so near upon him: nor would it have been less dangerous to return by Land, all the Passages and Avenues being guarded by an Enemy so numerous, and much more healthful, as being in the Climate they first breathed in. They were Twice as many as the *English*, and hovered like a Cloud upon the Hills about them. But, their Impatience to overcome, lost them the Victory; for, wheeling to the Right, they, in Confidence of their Strength, descended into the Plain, as if they designed to deprive them of all Hopes of Retreating. *Cromwell* perceiving this, as if he had cooped himself up, but with Design to break out with more Lustre, sent *Lambert* with Six Regiments of Horse and Three of Foot, to charge them. He was bravely received at first; but afterwards, by the Fatal Valour of Despair, routed the adverse Cavalry. The Foot seeing their Horse broke without any resistance, ran also away, in vain seeking that Safety in their Legs, which they had had in their Hands. And thus, a very great Victory was gained by the *English* in a Moment, wherein Three Thousand were slain, and near Ten Thousand taken; Two Hundred Colours, Fifteen Thousand Arms, and the

the whole spoil of the Camp, with the Loss of scarce Three Hundred *English*.

Nor did this signal Victory, which made them Masters of the South side of the *Firth*, cost them any more: For, it being known at *Edinburgh*, by the Arrival of *Lefley* who fled with the Horse, the *Nobility* and *Souldiery* quitted that City, as also *Leith*, a commodious Station for shipping, and posted away to *Sterling*, leaving all except the *Castle of Eainburgh*, to the Disposal of the Conquerors.

This Battle seemed indifferent to the King, who could lose none but Enemies, whoever vanquished. The *Presbyterians* were no less averse to him, than the *Independants*; and the *Scots*, if they had overcome, would have used him no better, than they did his August Father at *New-Castle*: They had extorted Conditions from him, equal to those their *English* Brethren had forced from his Martyred Predecessor in the *Isle of Wight*. Nor did those Concessions suffice; somewhat was still super-added and obtruded upon him. And, as if that were not enough, he himself, as also his Friends, were excluded from sharing in the Government. He had no command in the *Common-wealth*, altho all its Forces were raised in his Name. And, even now, their Army being lost, they did not cease, unseasonably to torment this excellent Prince with their Impertinencies. They impose new Conditions upon him; pretend to reform his Family; and endeavour to extort a Declaration from him, against himself, and such who were faithful to him. Provoked with these insufferable Indignities, and with the Impatience of bearing with their reiterated Follies, he withdrew himself privately out of their Guardianship; and, taking Horse, under pretence of taking the Air in his Shoes and Stockings, he rode towards the Provinces of the North,

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where

where the *Atholians* and the *Guordons* expected him in Arms. It is incredible, how unworthily he had been used since his first Arrival in *Scotland*. It may not be impertinent, to mention some of those barbarous Passages. In his way from *Spey* to *Edinburgh*, some of the Towns did not only congratulate his happy Arrival with their Acclamations, but with their Presents also. *Aberdene* bestowed Fifteen Hundred Pounds upon him; which the *Commissioners* took so ill, that to prevent the Liberality of the other Towns, they commanded, *That such who had Money to lavish away, should bring it into the Treasury.* Cautioning hereby, that the People should not demonstrate their Affection to their Prince, or the Prince be sensible of the good Will of his Subjects, towards himself. Yet more; when the *English* Parricides had reproached them with their Agreement with their King, they declared, They would not own his Cause, until he acknowledged and repented his own Sins, the Transgressions of his Father, and the Idolatry of his Mother. By all which, it is evident, That his Majesty was now in the same Danger, his Royal Father had formerly been, in the Hands of the *Presbyterians*.

But, the Parliament seriously considering the King's Recess, and perceiving their own inevitable Ruin at Hand, if they persisted in their Obstinacy and Follies, they sent *Montgomery* with a choice Party of Horse after his Majesty, humbly to desire his Return. Which he also effected, upon promise of better Conditions for the future; which were also performed, the *Grandees* being much mollified by their late Overthrow. And, now the King was admitted, as concerned, in the Publick Transactions; tho the Ministers mainly opposed it, not yet sensible of the imminent Destruction, which

which threatned the continuance of their Dissensions and Feuds.

The King now at the Helm, Orders were given out for new Levies; his Friends were admitted to Publick Employments; and he was crowned, with as much Pomp and Magnificence, as the Troubles would permit, at *Scone*. And now, the Minds of the most Seditious being in some sort appeased, the King's *Standard* was set up at *Aberdeen*; and, all who were fit to bear Arms, were invited to take them up against their invading Enemies.

Whilst the King is busied in raising Forces, *Cromwell* was no less intent in Prosecution of his Victory. *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, opened their Gates to him. And the Castle annexed to the City (Inexpugnable in it self by reason of its Situation) after no long siege was surrend'ed to him. He took also all the Fortresses, by himself or Liutenants, on this side the *Frith*; so that the King solicitous for *Sterling*, encamped under the Walls of it. He removed thence to *Tormood*; where being well entrenched, he slighted the Provocations and Attempts of the Enemy, resolving to hazard nothing, before his new Levies, which were raising for him in the Northern Counties, were come up to him.

Whilst the Two Armies were thus in sight of each other, a *Presbyterian* Plot was discovered, which was detected by I know not what Letters found in a Ship at *Ayre*. The Design was formed by their *Parsons* in *London*; who expecting a choice Body of Horse from *Scotland*, under the Command of *Massey*, pretended to raise some considerable Disturbances in Absence of the Army. But, the Secret being laid open, *Love* and *Gibbons*, for Terror to others, were by *Cromwell's* Recommendation both heheaded.

R 2

Cromwell,

Cromwell, when he saw he could neither provoke nor compel the King to fight, impatient of Delay, he commanded *Col. Overton* to attempt a Passage into *Fife*; which he did, with Fourteen Hundred Foot, and Four Troops of Horse. And after some light Skirmishes, landing at *North-Ferry*, he immediately cast up some Works for his Defence, where he also contained himself until more Succors came. Which quickly happened; for, *Lambert* flying to his Aid with Two Regiments of Horse, and as many of Foot, they fought and defeated *Bromne*, who was sent thither by the King with near Four Thousand Men. Him they slew, and kill'd and took well nigh all the *Royalists*. Whilst this was in Action, *Cromwell* braved it before the King's Trenches, and seemed to design to assault them; but, hearing of *Lambert's* Success, he marched back with his Army; and, passing the *Forth*, joined the rest of his Victorious Forces; and, marching with speed to *St. Johnstone*, after having drained the More and planted his Cannon, he had the Place delivered to him without any further Resistance.

The King, who had long since designed to march into *England*, is now necessitated to do it, and to transfer the War into *England*, which he was not in a Condition to support in *Scotland*. Hearing therefore of the Siege of *St. Johnstone*, whilst the Rebels were busied there, he removes his Camp with swift Marches towards *England*; permitting all such, who were dissatisfied with the present State of Affairs, to depart at pleasure. Many, especially of the Faction of *Argyle* and the *Kirk*, leaving him, he led the Rest, now entirely at his Command, along with him. *Cromwell* being informed of the King's Departure, sent his Horse after him; and having left *Monk* behind him, with Six Thousand Men, to finish the

the Reliques of the War in *Scotland*, follows with the Strength of his Army, whilst the rest of his Forces which guarded the Borders, endeavour to hinder the King's Advance. The *Rump* terrified with the Rumour of this Invasion, condemned *Cromwell* of Temerity and Precipitation; but, raised with his Letters, prepare for Defence. And, lest the Provinces wearied with their Tyranny, should look back towards their Lawful Prince, they fill them with their numerous Troops, forcing the Trained Bands of the Counties, to joyn with them against the Invading *Scots*.

The King's Army not exceeding 12000 Eff- July. 1.
 festive Men, had entred *England*; and being ad- 1651.
 vanced into *Lancashire*, notwithstanding *Lambert*
 and *Harrisons* Interruption with their numerous
 Cavalry, joyning with the *Earl of Darby* out of
 the *Isle of Man*, forced their Passage at *Warrington-*
Bridge; and continuing their March through the
 thick Squadrons of the Enemy, and the Opposition
 of frequent Encounters, came at Length to *Wor-*
cester, a City affectionate to His Majesty's Service.
 The King left the *Earl of Derby* behind him in
Lancashire, to raise new Forces. But, this excel-
 lent Personage, however great in Reputation in
 that Country, had scarce got Fifteen Hundred
 Men together, when he was attacked by *Collonel*
Lilbourne with far greater Numbers; and, being
 unequal to those Veterans, after a sharp Fight, he
 was defeated by them. And, however he escaped
 their present Fury by Flight; he was afterwards
 taken in the Battel of *Worcester*, and being brought
 to *Chester*, was there, notwithstanding the Quar-
 ter given him, beheaded by the *Regicides*; fi-
 nishing his Course with no less Gallantry, than he
 had lived with Glory.

The King upon his Entry into *England*, was proclaimed by a Herald at Arms, King of *ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE* and *IRELAND*; which was also done in all the chief Towns as he passed along, and was now repeated at *Worcester* with greater Pomp and Splendour. He had by Letters and Messages in his March, invited several of the Rebel-Commanders and Governours to the return of their Duty, but in vain. He had also desired the same of the *Mayor* and *Common-Council* of *London*, but with the same success. There were, however, several Noble Persons who came in to him, as, the *Lord Talbot, Packington, Howard, Broughton*, and others, with about Two Thousand private Souldiers. The rest kept back, either surprized with the sudden Advance of the King, and consequently unprovided; or terrified with the Cruelty of the *Rump*, and so durst not appear; or averse to the *Scots*, now unseasonably mindful of the former Injuries received from them, and would not come.

The King had been advised, and it was his own Opinion, to march from *Warrington* directly to *London*, which in probability ought to have been done, if the Army had not been so much wearied with their former Toyles and Labours. They therefore came to *Worcester*, a Place convenient enough; where having recovered, and repaired their Strength, they might either expect or promote the War. Hither *Cromwell* came Six Days after, with the conjoyned Forces of the Party, amounting to near Sixty Thousand Souldiers and Trained-Bands, and having beaten *Massey* from *Upton-Bridge*, approached the Town. The Rebels having passed the Rivers *Severne* and *Tame*, upon Bridges and Boats, advance towards the Walls, however very bravely opposed by the *Scots*,
out

out of the Hedges and Ditches in their way. But, the *Royallists* being out-numbered, were forced to retreat towards the City. The *Rebels* having repulsed and wounded *Montgomery* at *Powick*, *Cromwell* advancing, drew up near *Wood*. The King with *Forbes's* Foot, a small Body of Horse, (for *Lesley* with Two Thousand more stood a loof of, and did not approach) and some *English* Voluntiers, charged the *Van* of the Enemy with so much intrepid Bravery, that he not only repelled them, but took their Cannon; which yet he could not keep by reason of their numerous Reserves, and Supplies incessantly relieving each other: Inasmuch, that the King having performed all the Parts of a Great Commander, by rallying his broken Troops, and embodying his scattered Foot, and encouraging them by his Example and Presence in their renewed Encounters, being overpow'ed by the adverse Legions, Duke *Hamilton* who kept close to him, being also wounded (of which Hurt he shortly died) he was forced to retreat towards the City, which he entered on Foot at *Sulbury Gate*, being then obstructed by a laden Waggon overthrown in the Passage. Nor did he long stay there, but mounting another Horse, when he saw all was lost, and that the Enemy entered on all sides, he at length, slipping away in the Croud, escaped out of the City. The *Royal Fort*, defended by *Col. Drummund* with Fifteen Hundred Men, was taken by Assault, where all were put to the Sword. The slaughter in the City, was not less barbarous; the Citizens and Souldiers being promiscuously slain, all being filled with Rapine and Murther. There fell as well without, as within the Walls, where the Slaughter was greatest, Three Thousand Five Hundred, and the Prisoners were above Six Thousand, most of the *English* escaping by the Benefit of their Tongue. Duke *Hamilton*, having his

Thigh broken, died there; and, amongst the Prisoners of most Note, were the *Earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelley*; as also *Packington, Greves, Fanshaw* the King's Secretary, and many other Noble Persons, taken in their Flight. It is a Wonder, that the King escaped the Diligence of his Pursuers; but, the Means by which he escaped, doubles the Miracle. Five Poor Brethren, by Name *Pendrills*, with *Francis Yates* married to their Sister, and Three Females their Companions, who concealed, conducted, and nourisht him; justly merited the Glory, not only of saving a Citizen (as they had done before in the Person of the *Earl of Derby*, whom they had formerly secured) but of preserving their *Prince*. No Threats of Punishments, or Death, nor the offer of a Thousand Pounds to those who discovered him, would prevail with these, however needy Plebeians, whose Loyalty surmounted both their Hopes and their Fears.

The King having spent several Days in this miserable Solitude, passed through many Hands of both Sexes and Religions; Men and Women of the Middle and Lowest Sort. And, by many Accidents, and Sportings of Fortune, wandering as it were in a Cloud for the space of Two Months, he at length going on Board a small Collier, and not unknown to the Master, at *Bright-hemston* in *Sussex*, was conveyed, together with the *Lord Wilmott*, his *Achates* and Companion in Dangers, into *France*; reserved by Divine Providence, for the Glories that attended his Restitution. At *Rohan* he discovered himself to some *English* Merchants, where he changed his Apparel, and went the next Day to *Paris*; where his Fame arriving before him, he was met in the way by the Queen his Mother, and the *Duke of Orleance*, with a great Train of Nobility. Thus convoyed, he was brought to Court; where he

he was received with the Applause of all Men, and the particular Congratulations of the *French King*, and all the *Peers* of that Kingdom.

B O O K II.

Cromwell enters London Triumphantly. Continuation of the Irish Affairs. Ormond leaves Ireland, and Clanrickard, his Deputy there. Ireton dyes of the Plague. Monk takes Sterling, Dundee; and Subjugates Scotland. The Isles of Scilly, Barbadoes, Garnsey, Jersey, and that of Man, surrendered to the Regicides. Their Greatness. They are courted by the Neighbouring Kings and States. They send a solemn Embassy into Holland. Cromwell cabals. Turns out the Mock-Parliament. Chooses another. Is chosen Protector. The Wars with the United Provinces. The various Sea-Fights betwixt the Two States. Cromwell makes a Peace with them, and a League with France. The Expedition of San Domingo and Jamaica. Blake's success at Tunis and Santa Cruz. Dunkirk taken. The Death of Oliver Cromwell. His Character.

THE *Scotch Army* being defeated at *Worcester*, and *Lesley*, *Middleton* and the other Chief Officers, who fled with the Horse, taken; *Cromwell* having sent his Prisoners before him, entered *London*; the *Westminster* and *City Senates* and *Grandees*, receiving him with all imaginable Honour and Flatteries. And now the *Common-wealth* having overcome all their Enemies, exceedingly gloried in their Acquisitions. *Ireland* was also subdued, the remaining Natives being transported into *Connaught*. But, of these Tumults it will be expedient to treat more particularly.

Ireton

Ireton having been left by his Father-in-law to command in *Ireland*, as we have already mentioned, he began with the Siege of *Waterford*. Which *Preston*, who commanded there, seemed resolved to defend; until, finding himself shut up with Approaches, and Trenches, and attacked with the adverse Cannon; but, above all, seeing no hopes of Relief, he surrendered this strong City, upon Articles of Indemnity for the Inhabitants, and Liberty for the Garrison to march away with their Colours and Arms. *Carlaw* and *Duncan*, ran the same Fate at the same Time, Young *Preston* marching away with the Souldiers of those Fortresses. All this while, the *Confederates* continue in their unhappy Diffensions, the *Catholicks* and *Reformed* teazing each other with their wild and unseasonable Controversies. No due respect or obedience were paid to the Lord Lieutenant. And now, the *Clergy* endeavoured to distract the *Protestants* amongst themselves, animated particularly against *Ormond*; whom they labour with Calumnies to separate from *Inchequin*, and him again by the same Arts from his *Excellency*. The furious Heat of some of the *Bishops* grew to that height, that impatient of the Government of the *Protestants*, they pronounced it abrogated; excommunicating all such, who dared to disobey their Dictates. *Ormond* having tried all ways to allay these fatal Differences, and perswade them to unite for their Common Defence, to no purpose; perceiving their Obstinacy, he resolved to quit them, lest he might be involved in their Ruine. To these Indignities, they of *Limerick* besieged on one side by *Ireton*, refused him Entrance on the other, though he came with Forces to their Assistance, under pretence, *That they themselves sufficed for their own Defence*. And yet, lest the King's Affairs might suffer by their Folly and his Absence, he gave

gave the *Earl of Castelhaven* the Command of the Forces ; and, by the Suffrages of all, constituted the *Earl of Clanrickard*, Deputy of the Kingdom.

Clanrickard having undertaken the Government, more to delay the Rebels Conquest, than out of any Appearance of Success, in hopes it might advantage the King upon his march out of *Scotland*, makes new Levies ; recruits the Veterans ; provides Warlike Instruments ; and, being powerfully assisted by the *Ecclesiasticks*, endeavours to repair the lapsed condition of their Party : Not, that he thereby fancied the Recovery of the Kingdom ; but, to give the King Time to try the Fortune of a Day with *Cromwell*, as His Majesty had himself inculcated to him by his Letters. Nor were the Forces he raised contemptible, amounting to Five Thousand ; but, by the continual Averseness of Fortune, they effected nothing of moment. They indeed took some small Garrisons of *Ireton's*, he being gone to his *Winter-Quarters* ; but, being assaulted by *Collonel Axtel* in the *Isle of Milech*, and their Trenches forced, they were broken, Five Hundred at least of them being slain and drown'd. The Residue attempting no further, secured themselves in *Connaught*, interposing the River S and the *Curlewian* Mountains, betwixt them and this Fortunate Enemy ; guarding the Passages and Avenues of that Province, the only thing they were now capable of. Nor could they long secure themselves there ; for, the *Spring* advancing, *Ireton* took the Field ; and, having sent for *Coot* out of *Ulster* to meet him, he (*Coot*) under Pretence of besieging *Slego*, thereby diverted the Enemies Forces, passing the *Collurwian* Mountains, whilst the other got over the *Shannon* at *Killalo*, by the Treachery or Cowardise of *Collonel Fenel*, appointed to guard it. Having joyned Forces, they took *Athole* ; and separating again, *Ireton* besieges *Limerick*, and
Coot,

Coot, Galloway. Limerick, however strong, weakened with their own Dissensions, did not resist so long as it might have done, being well garrisoned and well victuall'd; but delivered it self, the Garrison marching away without their Arms, leaving Four and Twenty of the Principal in it to Mercy. Of these, the *Bishop of Firne*, and several others active in the first Part of the Rebellion, were hanged. Nor was this Victory less fatal to the *Conquerour*, who did not long survive it, being extinguished by the *Plague*. This *Monster*, having been bred up in the Law, whereof he had some smatterings, had been largely imbibed from his Youth, in the Frantick Ravings of the *Ecclesiasticks*. Which *Cromwell* observing, as also his Ingenuity, took him into his Fellowship, and Family; and marching him to his Daughter, made him his Son-in-law. He was active, vigilant, and stedfast; nor improper for Council or Execution in War; and consequently, a chief Champion and Contriver in the exorable *Regicide*.

Ireton being dead, the chief Command of the Army, was at present devolved upon *Ludlowe*, a Man bold and daring, to whom Three more Collegues were afterwards associated. In the mean time, *Galloway* was surrendered, *Clanrickard* having arttled for Permission to depart. Neither was any more warring there save against some, Mountainers and *Tories*, the Garrisons every where opening their Gates; and, the Souldiery yet in Arms, having conditioned their Transportation, passed most of them into the *Spanish Service* in *Flanders*; a *Militia*, not much more Fortunate than their own. *Ireland* being subdued, all vailed to the Conquerors. *General Monk*, after *Cromwell's* Departure, besieges *Sterling*, which however filled with Arms, Cannon, Provisions in Abundance, and the Records, and Monuments of their Kings, was tamely surrendered

dered to him. *Dundee*, by the Valour of *Lamisdane* the Governour, held out; but, being over-powered, it was taken by Assault, and the whole Garrison put to the Sword. The slaughter was cruel, and the Town no less unmercifully pillaged by the covetous Souldiers; which struck such a Terror in others, that *Aberdene*, and the rest of the *Scotch* Garrisons, that they might not be involved in so ruinous a Fate; prevented it by a timely Rendition.

Sir *Phillip Musgrave* had attempted to raise new Forces in *Galloway*; so did also a Convention of some of the Nobility at *Ellit*: but, being surprised, the *Earls of Leven and Cramford*, *Ogelby*, *Musgrave*, and others, were taken Prisoners. The *Scots* made yet one Attempt more under *Middleton*, *Hunley*, *Glencarne*, and other *Highlanders*; but, they also were suppress'd by the Valour and Vigilancy of *Col. Morgan*. There was no Enemy more that appeared; and, to take all hopes of embodying from them for the future, Four strong Cittadels were built in Four principal Parts of the Country, *viz. Leith, Ayre, Innerness, and St. Johnstons*. And now, *Scotland* being sufficiently subjugated, was subjected to the Laws of *England*, and incorporated into one Commonwealth with that Kingdom.

During these Traverses, Sir *John Greenvil* had detained some Merchant Ships belonging to the *Dutch* at *Scylly*; which so irritated the *States*, that they sent *Tromp* with Twelve Men of War to reclaim them, or require satisfaction for the Damage. He had also Instructions, to treat with the Governour for the Surrendry of that Place into their Hands; but, the Secret was not carried so close, but that these Transactions were known to the *English*, who thereupon sent *Blake* with a Fleet to hinder the Alienation of so Important a Place,
by

by reason of its exceeding Commodiousness for Navigation. *Greenvil* being thus assaulted on both sides, chose rather to deliver the *Isles* to his Country-men, than Strangers ; presuming, that being annexed to the Kingdom of *England*, they might by that means be one Day, together with it, restored to the *Crown* again. He therefore, upon very honourable Conditions, surrenders that *Post* he could not preserve longer, having the King's Permission for it ; and will in the close of this History, grow eminently illustrious, for his Services in the Restauration of his *Sacred Majesty*.

About that Time, the *Island of Barbadoes*, the Richest of our *Western Plantations*, was surrendered to Sir *George Ayscue*. He had for some Months hovered with a Fleet about those Coasts, until the Inhabitants, distracted with their Intestine Diffensions, obliged the *Lord Willoughby*, the Governour, to deliver it up; which he did, upon very good Terms for himself, and the *Islanders* : being also followed by the Subjection of the rest of our *Occidental Colonies*.

The *Rebels* had long since been Masters of *Garnsey*, except the *Castle*, situate in the Sea, and defended for several Years (being relieved by shipping from *France*, and the Neighbouring *Isles*) by *Roger Burges*, the Governour ; which at length, all being lost, he likewise quitted, stipulating some Months Pay for his Garrison, and Permission to depart.

Col. Haynes, a Principal Tribune amongst the Rebels, with Two Regiments of Foot, and Four Troops of Horse, having slain a brave Man, at his landing, the rest upon the fall of their Leader running away, left him the Possession of *Fersey*. There were Two Castles in it, almost impregnable, but, that nothing is so, where fear is predominant. *Mont Orgueil* made no Resistance. And,

And, *Castle Elizabeth*, surrounded with Rocks and the Ocean, and consequently inaccessible, tho it held out some considerable Time, followed the Fate of the Island; Sir *George Cartaret*, the Governor, having obtained Conditions for himself to pass into *France*, and Impunity for the Islanders that returned to their Houses.

Finally, the *Isle of Man*, hitherto kept by the Noble Countess of *Derby*, who had so bravely defended *Lathom House* against the Insults of the Rebels, closed this Fatal Roll; by so much the more illustrious, as being the last, who fell in Defence of her King and Country.

After so many Victorious and uninterrupted Successes, the *Common-wealth* grew eminently high, enjoying Peace, and the quiet Fruition of their Usurped Tyranny. The *Regicides* were not only feared at Home, but formidable to their Neighbours. And yet, one thing seemed still necessary to establish their Government, which was, to reconcile the King's Party to them. But, this being not only difficult, but impossible, with such who preferred their Loyalty and Honour before all things, and particularly, so sordid a Compliance; the Enemy, upon consideration of it, had several bloody Consults about their Extirpation and Massacre. The business was long debated in a *Council of War*; and, carried in the Negative, as too Cruel, but by Two Voices. And now, what they cannot effect by Severity, they will endeavour to compass by fair Means. An *Amnesty*, or Act of Oblivion, tho with many intricate Exceptions, is published, which gave hopes to such who lived quietly and peaceably, of being in time admitted to Publick Employments in the *Common-wealth*. Nor was it absurd in them, to pretend to a continuance of their Usurpation, by allaying the Heats and Hate of all Parties. But, this

this precaution proved fruitless; for, an unexpected Adversary of their own hatching, starting up amongst themselves, did as suddenly suppress them.

In the mean Time, the *New Commonwealth*, as they were great at Home, so they were formidable Abroad; being acknowledged by all, courted by some, and looked upon as very considerable, by such who affected them least; The *Spaniards*, *French*, *Portugal*, *Suedes*, *United Provinces*, and others, saluted this Rising State with Embassies; being also resaluted in form, especially by the *Dutch*, by reason of their Parallel Beginnings, and manner of Government. *St. Johns* and *Strickland* were deputed with great Pomp, not only to offer them Peace, but to invite them to a Coalition or Incorporating of the Two Nations in One. But, these Embassadors not having been received with such Warmness as they expected by the States, but also used with all manner of Indignities by the *Royallists*, and such who favoured the King, they returned home without effecting what they came for, fraught with rage and scorn against their Rival-Sister; Which afterwards broke out into a most cruel and lasting War, as we shall see hereafter.

Cromwel, after the Victory at *Worcester*, as if endued with another Spirit, seemed to arrogate the *Supreme Power* to himself, which appeared by his offering to knight *Lambert* and *Fleetwood* in the Field of Battle; which he had also done, if he had not been dissuaded by some of his Confidants. The War being now ended, and he at leisure, he reassumed his Thoughts, which he had always indulged, of his future Greatness. He had, for as much as in him lay, rendered the *Parliament* odious to the People, as the Authors of Bloodshed in Time of Peace, and the only Authors of all

all their Grievances: And, as he had incited the *Agitators* to Murther the King, he now again stirs them up with the Charms of Promises, to persecute this *bated Juncto*. They therefore, *accuse the Members of it, with Covetousness, Tyranny, and a Design of perpetuating themselves in their Empire.* They tell, *how they had arrogated to themselves, their Friends and Dependants, all the Honours, Commands, and Lucrative Employments of the Kingdom.* They therefore, whose Arms were not Mercenary, but taken up in Defence of their Common Liberty, and who would not lay them down till they had obtained the ends they strove for, *did* (how ever threatned) *require, That the Parliament should at length put a Period to their Session, and let another more equal Representative be chosen in their Place.* The Commanders hoped perhaps to be elected in their Rooms. And, some undoubtedly had a regard to *Liberty*, that the People might not still be subjected to the same Masters. The *Senators* were not a little perplexed with these Novelties; the Army especially mutinying to that Height, that some of the Common Souldiers, did impudently dare to draw their Swords upon their Lords with Threats and Insultings. Nay, the Citizens of *London*, sometimes their best Friends, who had so often promised and protested to live and dye with them, actuated with the same Spirit of Sedition, do now question their Integrity, blame their Conduct, and disown their Proceedings.

Things being at this pass, *Crommel* having convened the Chief Officers of the Army, and several of the *pretended Members* of the *Juncto*, in the *Speaker's House*, declaimed highly against the present State of Affairs; demonstrating, that there was no Good to be hoped or expected from a *Parliament* so constituted, as being corrupt, and designing to perpetuate it self. He added somewhat

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of a mixt and well tempered *Monarchy*, which how ever magnified by the *Lawyrs* who were present, as most consonant to the *Laws* and *Genius* of the Nation, was highly opposed by the Officers, who were more than Monarchs in their Commands and Governments. Some had proposed, to elect the *Duke of Gloucester*, the King's Youngest Brother, as least obnoxious to the Wiles of the Enemy, by reason of his tender Years; but, this also displeased, and nothing was fixed upon. In the mean time, several Petitions out of the Counties, were presented to *Cromwell*; in which, after an Enumeration of his Glorious Actions, they earnestly desire, *That God having given him the Power of the Sword, they might be eased of their Grievances, by his and his Armies mediation.* Moved with these Supplications, and his own Ambition, he ceased not to press the *Members* singly and collectively, to put an End to their odious Domination, and permit the Election of a new Representative of Men, singular for their Integrity and Holiness of Life, to whom the Government might be transferred. But, these *Conscript Fathers*, bewicht with the Sweets of Empire, turned every Stone to prevent their casheering; and, being vehemently urged to it, promised that they would name a day for the ending of this Session. But, *Cromwell* raving with the Thoughts of *Supremacy*, and looking upon every Delay as pernicious, rushing into the *House of Commons*, having taxed all with their Crimes, pointing at several with his Finger, accused some of *Adultery*, some of *Drunkenness*, others of *Gluttony*, and not a few of *Robbing the Common wealth*; And, his Officers, upon his stamping with his Foot, which was the Signal, crowding in to him, he turned out this Hated *Juncto*; putting a Period to that detestable Convention, which had thus long abused the Sacred Name of *Parliament.* And,

And, here we ought to adore the *unsearchable Judgments* of God, seeing them, who violated the Majesty of their own *Lord*, become Slaves, by as just Retribution, to their own Servants. 'Tis scarce credible, with what universal Applause this Dissolution was effected: not, that better Times (unless the King were restored) durst be hoped for; but, that People were willing to try every Change, rather than longer to bear the Yoke of this odious Domination. And, thus this perfidious Servant, subverted his equally perfidious Superiors; and constituting a *Council of State*, which should govern at his beck, requires by Proclamation, the Subjects Obedience and Submission, under great Penalties, to their Dictates.

Many eminent Men, have acquired Dominion over their Fellows by Fortitude and Vertue; and, some by flagitious and detestable Crimes; but, very few by cheating; and perhaps, scarce another besides *Cromwell*, who ever invaded, and obtained the *Supreme Power*, by Tears, and Sighs, and Lyes, and Pretences of Religion. And yet, it was with these Arts, that this *Ambitious Trooper*, and *False Prophet*, having deceived the Army he commanded, being *Fanaticks*, and gained the *Independants* by Benefits, durst attempt what ever Power and Ambition could suggest.

The *Mock-Parliament* being turned out, the Civil Employments in the Kingdom, were by Proclamation confirmed in their Hands that enjoyed them: whilst the Souldiery by Sea and Land, as also the Armies in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, did not only approve of this Change by their suffrages, but by their congratulatory Addresses too, protesting their Obedience to their *Generalissimo* and his Orders in all Things. But *Cromwell*, lest he might seem to arrogate the *Supreme Power* to himself, and thereby offend the Dissenting Brethren;

and, the better to delude the *Democraticks* with the jugglings of Appearances, convened another Assembly by advice of his Officers, to the number of one Hundred and Four and Twenty. To these, being Godly Men, and chosen by himself out of the Provinces, he devolved the *Supreme Power*; who, being *Sectaries* and *Enthusiasticks*, met at *Westminster*; and, usurping the Name of a *Parliament*, as most plausible, began to manage the Affairs of the Kingdom. But, they performed nothing of consequence, save, that they endeavoured to take away Tythes, and alienate the Revenues of the *Church*, as *Antichristian*. They attempted also, to abrogate our Laws, as Badges of the *Norman Conquest*, imposed to enslave us; to suppress our *Universities* and Publick Schools, as favouring of *Paganism*; and, to annihilate Titles and Nobility, as contrary to the *Law of Nature* and *Christianity*. All which, they had also effected, if they had not been stopt in their Carreer by a suddain Dissolution. *Cromwell* had many Privado's amongst this mad Rabble; who, seeing they could do no good with them by tempering their Obstinacy; and, considering that they acted by a precarious Authority and the Will of another, the *Speaker* being likewise of their Cabal; they took their time when many of the other were absent, declaring, that since no good was to be expected from the *Common-wealth* so constituted, it seemed consonant to reason, that the *Parliament* should be dissolved. Which, by the *Speaker's* leaving the Chair, was done; who marching in the Head of the rest of the Party to *White-Hall*, they surrendered to *Cromwell* the Authority they had received from him; opening thereby a Passage, to that *Supremacy* he so eagerly thirsted after.

1653.

Being then by a Decree of the *Council of War*, and Consent of the *Army* (*Lambert* contributing mainly

mainly to it, for he also hoped to have his Turn in the Government, after the Death of his General) chosen **Protector**, he was no less vigilant in conserving his Dignity, than he had been industrious in acquiring it. But, first it was thought fit he should be installed in this New Dignity; which was done in great state at *Westminster-Hall*, where he Dec. 16. took an Oath according to the Tenor of an *Instrument* then presented to him, *To govern the Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs: to seek their Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administered.* The Heads of the said *Instrument* were, *That the Protector should call a Parliament every Three Years, which should sit Five Months; That their Bills, unless he consented to them in Twenty Days, should pass without him; That his Council should not exceed One and Twenty, nor be under Thirteen; who immediately upon his Death, should choose another Protector; but, that no Protector after him should be General of the Army. That he should have power to make Peace or War, and with his Council make Laws in the intervals of Parliament, that should be binding to the Subjects, &c.*

His Council for the present, seemingly appointed by the Chief Officers, but allowed by himself, were Fourteen in Number; *Harrison*, and some others being disgusted with the Change, being left out, tho they had hitherto strenuously, but blindly contributed to it. But, the City not content to have testified their Joy by their Bells and Bonfires, invited this *New Dictator* to a magnificent Feast at *Grocers Hall*, where he Knighted *Viner* the Mayor; but, in his Return, was saluted with a Brick-bat which light upon his Coach, nothing else save a profound Silence accompanying this splendid Cavalcade.

But *Cromwell* not taken with Appearances, in Order to his Settlement sends his Son *Henry* to

Command in *Ireland*, and *General Monk* into *Scotland*; securing thereby the Three Kingdoms in his Power. At home, he discountenances *Bradshaw* the Regicide, with *Scot*, *Vane*, and other Enemies to *Monarchy*, and erected a *High Court of Justice* to terrify the *Royallists*, by which *Colonel Gerrard*, and *Mr. Vowell* were inhumanly butchered. And truly, there was no Appearance of stirring at Home, all being quiet, and the Parties quite wearied out, besides the dread of so powerful an Army hovering over them. Abroad he had been courted by an Embassy out of *France*, and *Whitlock* in *Sweden* concludes a Treaty with that *Crown*. But, what he most earnestly seemed to desire, was, the Friendship of the *Dutch*, as necessary for his Establishment. But, before we determine that Difference, it will be proper, to give some Account of the War betwixt the Two Nations, which had been so ruinous to both, especially the *Hollanders*; having according to my usual Method, not thought fit to disjoyn the Relations of things of Importance, tho distant in Time.

The People of *England*, had about Two Years past commenc'd a War against the *United Provinces*; which was, by so much the more fierce, as being betwixt Two Rival *Common-wealths*, both equally jealous of each others Greatness; besides, that both did endeavour to render themselves Masters of the Traffick of the Ocean. The Causes divulged in *Manifesto's* and *Declarations* on both sides, were various, the *English* insisting chiefly upon *Dorislaus* his Murther, and the unrevenge'd Contumelies thrown upon their Embassadors *St. John* and *Strickland* at the *Hague*. The first Blow was, a Civil Edict, prohibiting all Men of what Nation soever, to bring any *Commodities* or *Merchandize* into *England*, but such as was of the Growth of the Country from whence they brought them. This, as it was very advantageous

advantagious to the *English*, so it was ruinous to the *Dutch*, whom it also chiefly aimed at, as abounding in Shipping, and producing nothing of their own Growth but Butter and Cheese; who, however potent at Sea (the *Scots* being now vanquished) sent Four Embassadors into *England* to endeavour to mitigate the Rigor of this Act, and conclude the Treaty which had been begun at the *Hague*; but, to little purpose: For, the *English* being heightened with so many Victories, propose new Conditions to the *Dutch*, arrogating to themselves, reasonably enough, the *Herring-Fishing*, and the Honour of the *Flag*. They also, revive the Slaughtering of their Country-men at *Amboyna*, and pretend a free Passage for Navigation thro the *Scheld* to *Antwerp*. The Embassadors disdaining the Pride and Haughtiness of the *English*, bragged also with no less Arrogance of their Hundred and Fifty *Men of War*, which they had in Readiness. Whilst they were thus cavilling, they were both surprized with the Rumor of an Engagement betwixt *Blake* and *Tromp*, their Two Admirals. The manner thus; *Tromp* with a Fleet of Forty Ships of War, met *Blake* with only Fifteen, to whom *Bourn* came with Eight more out of the *Downs*, tho not till after they were engaged. The *English*, to vindicate the Honour of the *Flag*, warned the adverse Admiral by a Shot to strike, which was repeated Thrice: But *Tromp* confident in his Numbers and Strength, answered him at first with Contempt, by discharging a Gun on the contrary side; and then putting out the *Bloody Flag*, gave him his whole Tyre of Ordnance. *Blake* replied in kind, which engaged both Fleets, both fighting with great Valour until the Night parted them. The *Dutch* lost Two of their Ships, one being taken, as also the Captains of both; whilst the other abandoned by the *English*, was

left to the Mercy of the Waves. The *English* were much endamaged in their Rigging and Sails, their Loss in Men being but inconsiderable; not above Forty slain and wounded.

The Embassadors being informed of the Success of this Fight, and finding they had got nothing by it, seemed to deprecate the Offence, as an accidental Encounter, and in no wise committed with the Knowledge, or by any Command of the *States General*. But their Excuses were not received; so that they broke out into an open War on both sides, which was carried on with equal Violence and Emulation.

Blake sailing Northward, fell in with the *Dutch* Herring-Fleet, which he dispersed in a Moment, taking all their Convoy, which consisted of Twelve Men of War. *Tromp* came shortly after into that Sea, with Design to meet their *East India* Merchant Ships; which having sent Home, he resolved to adventure another Battle with *Blake*. But, being diverted by a violent Storm, he could not recover his own Coasts without Difficulty. Several Encounters happened bewixt these potent Parties upon other Occasions, with various Successes. Sir *George Ayscue* defeated a Fleet of Merchants in the Channel, taking and sinking several of them. And, some time after, meeting another Crew of them, convoyed by Sixty Men of War, fought them. The Combat lasted from Four in the Afternoon, till the Night separated them, with equal Valour and Loss. The *Dutch* continued their Way undisturbed, the *English* retreating to *Plimouth*, to repair the Dammage received in the Fight, which seemed to imply the Advantage of the Enemy. In the mean Time, several Trading-Ships, as well of the *French* as *Dutch*, were daily made Prize of. And, *Blake* took the whole *French* Fleet, designed for the Relief of *Dunkirk*, whereof he brought

brought Seven to *Dover*; which obliged the *Dunkirkers*, to surrender their Town into the Hands of the *Arch Duke*, who besieged them.

The *States*, for the better Government of their Fleets, had appointed some of their Members to embark with them, as well to advise with their Councils as to supervise the Actions of their Chiefs. And now *De Wit* is at Sea with Sixty Ships of Force; but, he did not think fit, to wait *Blake's* sailing towards him out of the *Downs*; who notwithstanding, did dare to disturb his Rear with his nimblest Sailors. But, *Tromp* having got together a great Fleet, consisting of Fourscore brave appointed Ships, resolved to attempt *Blake* in the very *Downs*; who, however not exceeding half the other in Numbers, stay'd for him. The Fight was great, and the Victory bravely contested for, until the Night parted them. But, the *English* being overpowered, having lost Two Ships, retreated with the rest to *Dover*, and thence into the River of *Thames*. Nor was the Victory bloodless on the Enemies side, having many of their Ships torn and disabled. *Tromp* fierce with his Advantage, wandered now at pleasure uncontrouled, and vainly bearing a Beesom at his Main Top, bragg'd he would sweep the Sea of the *English*.

The *Parliament* having prepared a very great Fleet of Eighty Ships of War, constituted a *Triumvirate* of Admirals, *Blake* being still one, *Dean* and *Monk* the other. These being ready sooner than the *Dutch* expected, attended *Tromp* with a great Fleet of Merchants, returning from the Ports of *France* and *Spain*. Nor had they waited long, when they discovered this numerous Enemy betwixt them and *Portland*. *Blake* sails directly towards them. And *Tromp* no less forward, prepares to receive him. The Fight was cruel and bloody, the Success also being various in the

the divers Parts of it, until the Night parted them. On the Morrow, they engage again. *Tromp* having sent his loaden Vessels before, closed their Rear with his Ships of War, and fights retreating. The Third day the Battle being renewed, the *Dutch* after a stout Conflict, got away by Favour of the Darkness, having lost Eleven of their Men of War, and Thirty of the Merchant Ships. The *English* lost the *Sampson* (but saved her Men) as also the Captains, *Mildmay* and *Ball*, commanding the *Triumph* and *Vanguard*; and, *Blake* himself was wounded in his Thigh. The slaughter on both sides, especially the Enemies, was very great. *Tromp* gained great Honour, and that deservedly, for saving his Fleet; justly attributing the Cause of his Retreat, to his Care for his Merchants, which he convoy'd.

The *Hollanders*, admonished by their Losses, write to the *Rump* for a Reconciliation; but, seeing the other Provinces had not concurred, their Letters were rejected. But, what the *Dutch* lost in the *Channel*, seemed to be compensated by their Victory in the *Tyrrebenian Sea* off of *Leghorn*, where *Van Galen* defeated *Appelton*, taking and sinking Five Men of War. He had formerly taken the *Phenix* at *Porta Longona*, which was afterwards recovered by *Cox*, sometime her Lieutenant; who in the Night, under the Notion of Fisher-men, clapt her on Board with a Hundred Men in Three Boats, forcing Young *Tromp* who commanded her, to save himself out of the Cabin Window, and brought her to *Naples*.

The *Danes* favouring the *Dutch*, had detained an *English* Fleet in the *Sound*, loaden with Masts, Pitch, Tar, Hemp and other Naval Provisions, which the *English* mainly wanted. Nor would they release them, although pressed to it by Captain *Ball*, with a great Fleet of War.

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In the Beginning of this Year, 1653. *Cromwell*, 1653. as is mentioned, had dislodged the *Rump*, assuming to himself the *Supream Authority* over these Nations. And now the *Dutch* proposing to themselves much Advantage by this Change, and, as they supposed, unsettled state of Affairs, prepare a great Fleet, consisting of Four score brave Ships of Force. Wherewith *Tromp* sailing out of the *Texel*, made *Northwards* to meet their *French Merchant Fleet*, coming round *Ireland* and *Great Britain*, for fear of the *English*; who obstructed the Passage through the Channel. These being sent Home in safety, *Tromp* sailed to *Dover*, which Town he battered with his whole Fleet a whole Day. The *English* in the mean Time, under the Command of *Monk* and *Dean*, sailing along the Coasts of *Scotland*, *Denmark*, and the *Belgick* Strands, carried no less Terror with them. The Coasts having been thus alarmed on both Sides, both Fleets came in Sight of each other, and engaged. The Fight, as usual, was brave and bloody. *Dean* was slain by a Cannon Bullet from the first Broad-side; but, the *Dutch*, in Revenge, were so ill treated, that the Night coming on, they retired towards *Dunkirk*, securing themselves from the Enemies greatest Ships betwixt those known Sands. The next Morning, the *English* augmented by the Accession of *Blake* with Eighteen Ships, renewed the Fight, and, after a sharp Encounter, force the *Dutch* to flye, notwithstanding *Tromp* (who put himself at the foremost of them) his Endeavours to the contrary. The *Belgians* lost at least Fifteen of their Ships, sunk and taken; the Damage the *English* suffered, being very inconsiderable. The Conquerours raised with their Success, besieged the Havens and Ports of *Holland* and *Zealand*, to their very great Detriment; for, the Ships homeward bound, ignorant of what had happened, fell into the Hands of the Besiegers;

Besiegers ; and, those within, durst not venture out.

July 31.

The *Dutch* finding the Inequality of the Party, send Embassadours into *England* to treat of Peace ; where, whilst they are disputing about the Conditions, the Fleets again meet not far from the *Texel*. This Naval Battel, seemed to exceed all the other in Fierceness and Slaughter ; though, nothing memorable happened, that, or the following Day, by reason of the Tempestuousness of the Weather. On the Third Day, being the 31st. of *July*, the Fleets from the *Texel* and *Zealand* being joyned, *Tromp* and *De Witt* made up to the *English* ; who bearing off at Sea, by reason of the Shoals and a Lee-shore, quickly tackt upon them ; and, receiving their Attack with equal Fortitude and Fierceness, at length repelled them. The Fight dured from Six in the Morning till Noon. Nor did the Party seem unequal, until *Tromp* was slain, being shot in the Breast with a Musket Bullet. And, thus fell this great Man, to be mentioned with Honour for the Glory of his Achievements, and his skill in Naval Affairs. He finished his Course, with no less Reputation than he had continued it ; seeing, he died in Defence of his Country, and, that the War which he had begun, expired with him. The *Admiral* being dead, the Valour of his Men vanished with him ; who, unequal to the *English* in Perseverance, fled before them with much Disorder and Loss, towards the *Texel*. Nor were they much pressed in their Retreat ; for, *Monk*, however successful, bought his Victory dear, being necessitated to return into *England*, to repair his Breaches and Losses. He had Six of his Captains slain, and as many wounded, and Two of his Ships lost. *Pen* and *Lamson* did particularly signalize themselves. What the Enemy suffered, was not known ; save, that Five of their Captains were

were made Prisoners, and scarce Ninty of One Hundred and Twenty Ships they had fought with, escaped into the *Texel*. A day of *Thanksgiving*, was appointed in *England* for this Victory; the Chief Officers, and Captains of the Fleet, being honoured with Gold-Chains and Medals, as Marks of their Valour and good Service.

Opdam, a Person of Honour, and of the Nobility which is conspicuous in *Holland*, succeeded *Tromp* in the Command of the Fleet. And, now both *Republicks* weary of the War, seemed desirous of Peace, which was also concluded betwixt them upon Conditions honourable enough for the *English*, if the *Protector*, too solicitous for the future, had not too much apprehended the Young Prince of *Orange*, then in his Nurses Arms. The *Danes* were included in the *Treaty*, the Price of the detained Ships being paid by the *States*. Peace was likewise concluded with the King of *Portugal*, as also with the *Sweeds*, by splendid Embassies from both Sides. A more strickt League was also made with the *French*, and all upon his own Terms: For, he forced the *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, to pay the Charges of the War. Nor would he conclude with the *French*, without inserting an Article (their King being then under Age) That France should upon Demand, assist him with Ten Thousand Men, to establish his Authority, against the King, against the People, and against the Defections of his own Army, which he had reason to apprehend. Nay, they valued the Friendship and Favour of this Usurper at that Rate, that they forced King *Charles* by an unheard of President, upon his Demand to leave that Kingdom; banishing him out of his very Exile, against the Law of Nations, which allows Sanctuary to the distressed, and against the Rights of Blood and Hospitality.

Cromwell

Cromwell being offended with *Spain*, or perhaps in Consequence of the *League* with *France*, Proclaims War against that Nation; from whom, having in vain attempted *Hispaniola*, he extorted the *Island* of *Jamaica* in the *West-Indies*; and, *Dunkirk*, a famous Sea-port nearer Home, by the Assistance of the *French*. But, these deserve a more particular Narrative.

He had equip'd Two considerable Fleets, with great Cost and Application; one whereof he sent with *Blake* into the *Mediterranean*; and, the other under the Command of *Pen* and *Venables*, fraughted with Land-Souldiers, set Sail about the same Time. The Design was kept secret, which did not a little amuse the Neighbour-Princes, and particularly the *Spaniards*; who sent the *Marquess* of *Leda*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, into *England*, to penetrate into the Reasons and Designs of these great Preparations. But, conjecturing by the Ambiguity of the Answers he received, that it might concern his Country-men, he immediately returned.

The Fleet arrived happily at the *Barbado's*, one of our Principal *Indian* Colonies. Where, as also out of the Neighbouring *Isles*, the Land-Forces they brought out of *England*, consisting but of Three Thousand, were made up to at least Ten Thousand; Servants and others, being invited to take up Arms, upon Assurance of their Liberty, and Hopes of Plunder. But, though the Army were great, the Provisions made for it were not so; the *Generals* perhaps thinking, that they did but need, to Come and Conquer. With these Forces and vast expectations, they sailed towards *Hispaniola*. Being come within the Sight of *San Domingo*, the *Spaniards* terrified with the Danger, abandoned their City, and fled into Woods, leaving all to the Discretion of the Assailants. But, the
English

English, by the vain Precaution of their Governours, fearing I know not what imaginary Ambuscades, omitted and lost the Opportunity ; for, leaving the Port, *Venables* landed Ten Leagues from the Town with Seven Thousand Men. The Souldiers were brisk and fierce, promising themselves Gold and Wealth, even to Satiety. But, their Joy did not last long ; for, it was proclaimed under pain of Death, that none should plunder Gold, Silver, Jewels, or any other precious Moveables, or kill any tame Cattle. The Souldiers damp'd with this unseasonable Order, destitute now of the Solace of Hope it self, moved but dully ; and, marching through thick Woods, scorching Sands, excessive Heat of the Sun, and its concomitant, unsufferable Thirst, they at length came to the assigned *Rendezvous*. *Collonel Buller* met them there, with Three Regiments from the Fleet, where they were somewhat refreshed ; for, there was a River of Fresh-water, which discharges it self into the Sea. The Forces being joyned, *Venables* marches with his Army towards the City, having sent *Captain Cox*, who was also their Guide, with Five Hundred Men before as a *Forlorn*. And, they proved so. In the mean Time, the *Spaniards* taking Courage from their Enemies loitering, and perceiving the Difficulties they laboured under, betake themselves to their Defence ; and, falling briskly upon them in the Intricacies of their Passage with a handful of Men, they kill *Cox*, and rout his Party, who rushing upon the next Regiment put it to Flight. Upon advance of the Army, the *Spaniards* retired into a Fort they had in the Wood. *Venables*, after this brush, return'd back to the River, with a Resolution, to re-assume his Design : And, having mounted Two Guns, provided Scaling-ladders, Mortars, Granado's and Fire-balls, he marches the second Time towards the City. But, being betrayed

trayed by the Errors of his *Guides*, who undertook to lead him a more commodious Way for the avoiding of the Fort, he is brought into the same place where they had already fought so unluckily. The *Spaniards*, but Seventy in Number, sallying hastily out of their Ambushes, fell with such Violence upon the Van Guard, that the *Forlorn* being beaten into the next following *Battalion*, that also turned upon their own Army, and filling all with Terror, they all ran away. The Enemy pursued with a great slaughter; nor did they retire, till they were wearied with killing, and carried away Seven Colours in sign of Victory. *Collonel Haynes* having with great Courage endeavoured to make Head against them, being abandoned, was slain by them, and with him Six Hundred more, besides several wounded. These Mis-carriages, were followed by the Negligence of the Commanders, with want of Provisions; so, that several of the Souldiers straying in the Woods in Quest of Victuals, were snapt up by the Enemy. Their Wants growing daily upon them, they eat all their Horses, which they had brought in a fine Troop with them from the *Barbadoes*; and, these not sufficing, they at length resolved to leave this unlucky Shore: Which they did, sailing with their baffled Army to *Jamaica*; where, the News of their Defeat not being yet arrived, they easily landed, the *Spaniards* there artickling for Liberty to depart, which they easily consented to. This Island is very pleasant, Sixty Leagues in Length, and Thirty in Breadth. But, they met here with an Enemy more severe than the *Spaniards*, which was the Plague; which, in a little Time, reduced their Army to fewer than Two Thousand. Those who survived, being recruited with Provisions and Men from *England*, the *Island* being also cleared of *Spaniards*, is now become a famous Colony of the *English*.

But,

But, *Admiral Blake's* Successes were greater, tho' they did not make more Noise in the World. The *Algerines*, upon Sight of the Fleet so far superior to theirs, making a Peace with him, consented to the Restitution of the *Brittish* Slaves, and a Liberty of Commerce. But, they of *Tunis*, trusting to their own Strength, answered *Blake's* Summons fiercely; shewing him, by way of ostentation, their Castles in the *Gulletta*, and their Fleet in that impregnable Receptacle of *Porta-ferino*. *Blake* resolving always on the brave, filling his long Boats with his boldest Adventurers, sent them into the Haven to burn their Ships. Which they also effected, consuming Nine of them with Fire, with the inconsiderable Loss of Five and Twenty Men. All this while, the Ships of the Fleet thundred terribly with their Cannon upon their Castles and Batteries, dismounting for the most part their Guns, and forcing the Defendants to abandon their Works. The *Infidels* thus chastised, became more submissive, being glad to accept of that Pacification, they had lately so insolently refused.

Cromwell being secure Abroad, had at Home defeated all the Endeavours of the *Royallists*, as also of the *Presbyterians* and *Democraticks*, for the recovering of their Liberty. All these Attempts were stifled in their Infancy, or betrayed in their Growth, before they came to any Ripeness; effecting nothing, but the Ruine of such who were concerned in them, and the securing of him in his Tyranny, whose Destruction was so passionately desired. This cruel *Protector*, had afflicted the *Royallists* with all manner of Torments in their Persons. And now, having constituted *Major Generals*, after the Manner of the *Turkish Bashaws*, in all the Kingdom; decimated, and confiscated their Goods; and raging against their Persons with Incarcerations, Banishments, and Death it
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self, exposed them to all the Miseries their inexorable Malice could invent. But, seeing that all would not do, and that they were Proof against the utmost severity; he changed his Battery, and will now try to gain them by Civilities, and a more gentle Usage. But, that taking no effect with Men immoveable in their Loyalty, and whom nothing could oblige to abandon that Cause, they had so religiously maintained; he thought of other ways to be rid of these Men, so averse to his Tyranny. Upon this accompt, he permits Foreign Ministers in League with him, to make Levies of them for their Wars, the Prisons having often times been emptied for that purpose. The *Colonies*, in the *West-Indies*, consumed many of them by Slavery, and others allured into the unfortunate expedition of *San Domingo*, perished in it. His Domestick Enemies being thus removed or oppress'd, the *Usurper* became also formidable to Strangers. And, now it seemed seasonable for him to think of transmitting his Tyranny to his Posterity. As he had usurp'd the Power of a King, so he ambition'd the Title, which a *Parliament* he had convened for his Purpose, endeavour'd to invest him with. But, he was oppos'd by the Chiefs of the Army, who expected, and hoped after his Fate, to have their Turns in the *Supremacy*. However, he managed his Design so well, that he was created *Sovereign Protector*, with Power to name his Successor; which was, in effect, what he desired, in rendring his Tyranny Hereditary.

The *Spaniards*, to repay one War with another, seized and confiscated all the *English* Merchants Goods and Shipping in his Dominions, and by a Publick Edict, declared War against the Nation. But, *Cromwell* acting more Effectually, sent *Blake* and *Montague* with a Fleet to shut up the Haven of *Cadiz*, where the Rich Ships from the

the *Indies* usually arrived. *Stayner*, with his Squadron of Seven Frigats, fell upon Eight of 1656. them, in the Absence of their *Admiral*; whereof, Sep. 1. he took Two; burnt One (with the *Marquess* of *Badaiox*, the *Vice-Roy* of *Peru* and his Lady in it) sunk Another, forced Two on Shore, and the other Two escaped into Port. This was a great Victory, wherein they took above Two Millions of *Pieces of Eight*. But, that which *Blake* won at *Teneriffe* the Year following, surpassed all other in Nobleness of Action, and Resolution of the Undertakers. The *West-India* Fleet, consisting of Sixteen Rich Ships, having Intelligence that the 1657. *English* were cruising upon the *Atlantick* Ocean, Apr. 20. put into the Haven of *Santa Cruz*; where, by the Advantage of their strong Castle at the Entry, and Seven Forts round the Bay, they thought themselves secure. But, *Blake* perceiving their Order, sending *Stayner*, a brave Commander, with some nimble Frigats before, followed himself with the rest of his Fleet. And, plying the Castle and Forts, with his great Ships, beat the *Spaniards* from their Guns; and, after a sharp Fight, took the Fleet, abandoned by the Sea-men who ran on Shore; but, not being able to carry it away with them, they set in on fire, consuming both it and the immense Riches it was fraughted with. A *Thanksgiving-Day* being appointed in *England* for this to eminent a Victory, *Blake* was honoured by the *Parliament* with a Present of Five Hundred Pounds. But, this so famous *Admiral*, did not long survive so many Victories, expiring at his Entrance into *Plymouth* Road, by the Malignity of the *Dropsy* and *Scurvy*. Thus ended this brave and fortunate Warriour, worthily to be celebrated, if he had not so audaciously resisted his own Prince.

Nor was it at Sea only that *Cromwell* plagued the *Spaniard*; for, he sent Six Thousand Men, under the Command of *Collonel Reynolds* into *Flanders*, who much facilitated the Successes of the *French*. *Montmedy* and *St. Venant*, were taken by their Assistance; and, some time after, *Mardike*, which was delivered to the *English*, and by them so strongly fortified, that it firmly withstood the Assaults of the *Brittish* Regiments in the Service of *Spain*. Hereupon, *Dunkirk* was Besieged by the *Confederates*. But, *Don Juan* of *Austria*, Governour of those *Low-Countries*, Solicitous for the conserving of so considerable a Sea-port, and to prevent the Excursions of the *French* into *Flanders* on that side, having drawn his Army together, and strengthened it with *Veterane* Souldiers taken out of their Garrisons; and being joyned by the *Duke of York*, with four *Batalions* of *English*, and *Irish*, then under his Command; he marched to the Relief of the Besieged, and suddenly possessing the Height of the Sand-Hills opposite to *Turin's* Camp, pitcht his there. *Marshal Turin* having left Guards to Defend Forts and Posts against the Sallies of the Besieged, drew the rest of his Army out of his Trenches. The *English* were in the Van; who, notwithstanding the Showers of shot powered upon them, ascended the Hill, and after a sharp encounter at push of Pike, and Butt-end of Musket, forced the Enemy from their Ground. This being done, the *French* Horse charged the opposite Cavalry, which being long sustained by the Valour and Vertue of the *Duke of York*, and his Brother *Gloucester*, was at last, the *English* advancing upon them, obliged to leave the Field. There were above a Thousand slain, and more then Two Thousand taken Prisoners. The Cannon and Spoil of the Field, were the present Reward of the Victors; and, some time after, *Dunkirk*

kirk it self: Which, by the Death of the *Governour*, the *Marquess of Lede*, was surrendered upon Conditions, and put into the Possession of the *English* by Contract.

Cromwell however heightned by this Victory, did not long survive it; being oppressed with a *Melancholy*, which he had contracted upon the Death of his beloved Daughter *Cleypool*; Which accompanied with a Fever, and Faintings, snatcht him hence (deprecating his immature Destiny in vain) to that *Tribunal*, where he was to give an Accompt of his Rebellions, Sacriledge, Perjury, Parricide, and Tyranny. He died indeed, like other Men, in his Bed; but, not without some extraordinary Commotions of Spirit. Nay, the whole Frame of Nature suffer'd violent Concussions, by a dreadful Tempest at the *Exit* of this Impostor; which threatn'd, by Tumult, and Noises, loud as his Sins, to reduce the World into its pristine *Chaos* again. We cannot with Justice, deny this great Artist in Dissimulation and Imposture, Courage and Vastness of Mind; since he raised himself up from a Private Condition, and a simple Gentleman, to the Supream Height of *Empire*; not altogether unworthy the Degree he attained to, if he had not acquired it by ill Means.

B O O K III.

Richard succeeds his Father in the Protectorate. He is deposed by the Army. The Rump restored. Lambert defeats Sir George Booth. Montague returns with the Fleet out of Denmark. Lambert turns out the Rump. Monk dissents, and declares for the Rump. Lambert marches against him. Being deluded by Treaties, he is deserted by his Army. The Committee of Safety routed, and the Rump yet again restored. Monk marches to London. Reads the Secluded Members. The Parliament dissolv'd by its own Act. An Abstract of the King's Actions and Motions abroad. He is proclaimed by the Parliament. Returns into England. His glorious Reception. The End of our Troubles.

Oliver having during his Sickness been vainly confident of his Recovery, which he also had been deluded into an Assurance of, by his Chaplains and Flatterers; had neglected the Nominating of a Successor, as he was authorized to do by the *Petition and Advice*. 'Twas thought, he ballanced in his Choice betwixt his Son and Son-in-law *Fleetwood*; which his Council finding, and perceiving his Spirits and Senses to fail, demanded of him, If he did not appoint his Son *Richard* to Succeed him? To which he answering, as is supposed, in the Affirmative; *Richard*, as soon as he expired, was saluted and proclaimed *Protector* in his Fathers Room. But very unlike him in Fortitude, and the Arts of Government; as will appear, by his being disturbed from the quiet Possession

session of Three Kingdoms, by those he neither had Wit nor Courage to suppress or oppose. He was in the mean time, as well as his Father, acknowledged and saluted, by the Army, the City, the Provinces and Foreign Ministers and Embassadors. The Beginning of his Reign was serene, and his first Care, the Funeral of his Father. Which was performed with a more than Royal Magnificence, there having been Sixty Thousand Pounds expended in it; this Treasure, as it had been extorted by Tyranny, being consumed in Luxury. His Corps, however wrapt up in a Sixfold Cerecloth, a Lead, and a Wooden Coffin, fermenting in this restraint, burst out of it; and, filling all with a most noisom Odour, was privately deposited in *Henry VII's* Chappel, amongst the Ashes of King's; but, by the just Judgment of God, to be transferred and buried under the Gallows, as we have since seen.

The Officers of the Army, after all their Addresses to *Richard*, grew weary of him, as soon as they had well owned him; and, unmindful now of their Duty and Promises to him, by the Insinuations of *Lambert*, formerly cashier'd by his Father, and the Concurrence of the *Democraticks*, having also drawn *Fleetwood* his Brother-in-law, and *Desborough* who had married his Aunt, into the Cabal, consult how to abolish the *Protectorate*, and restore themselves to their former Freedom. Nor was *Richard* ignorant of their Designs, but wanted Resolution to suppress them; and, indeed, courage to countenance the Undertakings of others, who offered their Service for the seizure or killing of these Mutineers. He had called a *Parliament*, by whose Authority, he supposed these Heats might be allayed; and, they endeavoured it. But, this Puny Prince, affrighted with the Threats and Noises of the adverse Party, was perswaded to dis-

solve that *Convention*, however addicted to him. Hereupon, he is likewise laid aside. The *Rump*, composed of those *Antimonarchists* which his Father had formerly ejected, being introduced and seated in the Government again. His Brother *Henry*, *Vice-Roy of Ireland*, quitted also that Kingdom, and the Army there, by command of this restored Senate, with the like Pusillanimity. Whereby it appears, how sordidly these Fellows degenerated from their Father in Audaciousness, though they resembled him well enough in Wickedness. *Monk*, who commanded in *Scotland*, did likewise submit; but, kept his Employment, thinking he had done enough, in congratulating their Restoration by Addresses and Messages.

The odious *Oligarchy* being restored, under the Title of a *Common-wealth*; and, acknowledged by the Army, and their Partisans in the Provinces, drive more furiously than before, endeavouring to remove all Obstacles and Impediments to their designed Tyranny. In order to this, they exact a spontaneous Abdication of the *Protectorate*, from *Richard*; which he tamely granted, promising further, *To behave himself peaceably under the Government, from which he expected Protection*. And thus this Mushroom-Prince, the untimely Birth of a short Reign, turned out of *White-Hall*, vanished; and, will be no more heard of, but with Obloquy and Infamy. And yet, if he had had either Honour or Honesty in him, he might have had one Game more to play, no less probable, than glorious, which was, the restoring of the King; several Overtures having been made to him, by the Royal Party, to that Purpose. The which, with his Interest in the Army, and *Two Houses*, before their Dissolution, might have been effected without a Miracle.

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The *Rump* was no sooner seated, but they began to divide the Inheritance amongst themselves; and, whatever the *Cromwellian* storm of Hail had left, these rapacious Locusts did consume and devour. But, the Universality of the Nation, trembled at these Preludes of Tyranny and Slavery; and, being resolved to suffer any thing, rather than the known Domination of the *Regicides*, took up Arms in divers Counties. Nor were the *Parricides* ignorant of these Designs. They therefore to prevent them, fill the Prisons with the most suspected, and command all those who had served the King, to leave the City, and not to return without Permission. The swift Motion of their Horse, hindred the Risings in *Kent* and *Surrey*, and some other Counties. And yet, they got together in *Cheshire*, under the Command of Sir *George Booth*, to a considerable Body, being assisted by Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Randal Egerton Major General*, and *Colonel Worden*, with others, Asserters of *Liberty*, and a *Free Parliament*. Having possessed themselves of *Chester*, *Manchester*, and *Warrington*, they became formidable. The growing Power of these *Royallists* (for such they were esteemed) extremely terrified the *Rebels* at *Westminster*; and therefore, *Lambert* was ordered with Seven Regiments of Foot, and Two of Horse, to march with all speed against these new Adversaries, and suppress them. Which he also did, with no great Difficulty; their raw unexperienced *Militia*, not being able to stand the shock of an Army, flusht with so many Successes. So that, attacking them at *Normich-Bridge*, where *Morgan*, a brave Youth, was slain, they forced it, routing and defeating the whole Party. *Chester*, and the other Fortresses, were all retaken; and *Booth* himself being fled, was afterwards discovered in *Womans Cloths* at *Newport*, and was cast into the *Tower*.

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The Men at *Westminster* sworn with this Victory, having thereby reduced the Kingdom to their Obedience, resolve to call the Authors of this Late War, to a very severe Accompt, thirsting no less after their Estates and Possessions, than their Blood. In the mean time, *Montague*, who had been sent in *Richard's* Protectorate into *Denmark*, with a great Fleet, invited by the King unto whom he was reconciled, and commanded by him, sailed towards *England* with his Naval Power, to help to free his Native Country from Oppression and Slavery. But, hearing by the Way, of the Defeat of the *Royallists*, the Secret was not discovered, tho he returned with the Fleet; and was commanded by the *Rump*, who suspected his Faith, to his House, till they should be at leisure to take an Accompt of his Voyage, and Actions.

The Enemy being subdued, these Blood-Canibals judging of the Justice of their Cause by the Success, and thinking nothing bad, but what was prosperous, looked upon themselves as owned by Heaven. But yet, their joy was but short-liv'd; for, whilst they go on securely, they were yet again by the Just Judgment of *God*, disturbed by their own Servants. *Lambert* after his Victory aiming at greater Things, began not only to neglect his Equals, but to despise his Superiors also. But, the Army was first to be gained, which he endeavoured to do, by the usual Charms of Ambition; attributing to them, the Glories of their Atchievements, and the Honour of the late Success. He also distributed amongst them, the Thousand Pounds, which these nefarious *Senators* had bestowed on him: affirming, that Presents of that kind, were no less due to them by whose Fortitude Great Actions were performed, than to him by whose Conduct they were effected. With these Arts, he rendered the Souldiers not only favourable

favourable, but subservient to his Designs. Whilst he is thus employed, he received Letters from the *Senate* (who began to suspect him of ambitious Intreagues) but very obligingly writ, to invite him to Town; which he instantly obeyed, being secure in the Souldiers affection, and that he might give no Shadow of Distrust by his Delay. A Petition from the rest of the Commanders to the *Parliament*, followed the *General*, wherein they required, That *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* should have the Chief Command and Generalship of the Army. The *Parliament* who had conferred that Province upon their *Speaker*, who had also hitherto commissioned these very Officers, startled at so unusual a Demand, and fancying if they yielded they were undone, Vote, *That to have any more General-Officers in the Army, than are already settled by the Parliament, was unnecessary, burthenom and dangerous to the Common-wealth.* But, the Souldiers persisting in their arrogant Demands, this Vote was followed by another, declaring, *That it should be Treason for any Person or Persons, to levy Money without the consent of Parliament.* By this means, these States thought, and reasonably enough, to render the Souldiers for the future, more obedient to them from whom they were to expect their Stipend and Rewards. This done, they (animated perhaps more with Choler than Counsel) cashier *Lambert*, as Chief of the Conspiracy, and Eight more of the boldest Tribunes of his Party; transferring the Chief Command of the Army, upon Seven of their own Tribe, viz. *Fleetwood, Monk, Hazelrig, Ludlow, Walton, Morley* and *Overton*. But, the disbanded Officers disdaining to be thus used, armed with Revenge and Ambition, flew with their Regiments to *Westminster*, filling the Avenues of the Court with their Souldiers, resolving to hinder the sitting of the *Members*. The *Parliament,*

ment, on the other side, loth to dislodge, solicited the rest of the Army to their Assistance, and had them. Being drawn up on both sides, they yett past no further than Threats, being pacified by the Care and Authority of the *Council of State*. But, *Lambert* gained his desir'd end, in hindering the *Speaker* to go to the House, and sending him Home without his *Pretorian Troop* which had attended him thither, and more like a Captive, than a General, or an *Imperial Speaker*.

The *Independant Faction* being thus divided, the *Civil Part* of it was forced to truckle to the *Military*; and now in Contempt of the Authority of their *Senate*, *Fleetwood*, no great Souldier but a valiant Holder-forth, by Suffrage of the Council of Officers, was made General, and *Lambert* Lieutenant General; to whose Artifice, the other was obnoxious. They also, erected a *Council of State* or *Committee of Safety*, consisting of Three and Twenty Commissioners, most Officers; to whom, the Supreme Care of the Laws and Government were at present committed, with Instructions, to introduce a new Form of a *Common-wealth*. The State being thus settled, *Lambert* endeavours by a Declaration, to calm the Minds of Men, distracted with so many Novelties, with the Show and Assurance of their Liberties, both Sacred and Civil; and sending some of his *Confidants into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, attempts all ways to draw those Armies to his Party. But, without Success; for, *Ireland* being addicted to the *Rump*, continued faithful to them. And *Monk*, did dare openly to dissent from the new Modellers. Part also of the Fleet, under their Vice-Admiral *Lamson*, did sharply demand the Restitution of the *Parliament*; and, *Portsmouth*, a strong Sea Town, revolted from our Novelists.

* Colbet,
Barrow.

The *Committee of Safety* being in these Straights, provide with their utmost Care, Remedies for so many Evils. *Lambert* is sent with a great Army, consisting of Twelve Thousand Men, against *Monk*; and Forces were likewise sent to reduce *Portsmouth*, the Fleet being invited by Messages and Promises, to return to their Obedience. But, these precautions proved every where fruitless; for, the Fleet blocking up the Mouth of the *Thames*, persisted in their Obstinacy. The *Parliamentarians* at *Portsmouth*, were grown formidable, by the Accession of those that besieged them, who had revolted to them; and, *Ireland* following the Example of the other Dissenters, declared for the *Parliament*. But, the greatest Danger that threatened them, appeared in the *North*; for, *Monk* in his Letters to *Fleetwood*, did dare to disapprove the Actions of the Army, requiring the immediate Restitution of the *Parliament*. And, mustering his Army, having turn'd out such of his Officers as favoured the contrary Party, he marched Southwards and seizes the strong Town of *Berwick*.

The *Committee of Safety* startled with *Monk's* Proceedings, send Embassadors to him to treat of Peace and a mutual Correspondence betwixt them, giving out at the same time Commissions and Orders for new Levies; being resolved, if the Treaty did not succeed, to vindicate their Power by Arms.

Lambert, as is said, was marched towards the Confines of the Kingdom with his Army, the *Committee* omitting no Industry, whereby they might divert this growing storm in the *North*. *Monk* also, revolving the Danger and Greatness of his Enterprize, will do nothing rashly. He apprehended the *English Army* as brave and numerous, and therefore resolves, to protract and delay Time. His Friends also out of *England*, had assured him, that

that the New Government there was odious to the Nation, which would also, for want of Money and Council, if he delay'd a little, fall by its own Weight. Moved with these Reasons, and the Backwardness of his own Preparations, he seems less averse to Peace than formerly; and, sending Three Delegates to the *Committee of Safety*, magnifies his Desires of an Accomodation. These Embassadors, met *Lambert* at *York*; and, satisfying him abundantly of the peaceable Inclinations of the *Scottish* Army, wrought so with him, that he prohibited the further Advance of his Forces.

Monk having thus lull'd his Adversaries, summons a Convention of the *Scots* Nobility; from whom, not obscurely informed or presuming of his Intentions, he obtained Contributions for his Army for a Year before-hand, allowing them in return, Liberty to arm themselves for their Defence. In the mean time, a Pacification was agreed upon at *London*, betwixt Commissioners of both sides; where, amongst other things, the Name and Family, and *Royal* Title of the *Staarts*, was wholly excluded; a Tyrannous *Stratarchy*, or Club-law being introduced under the Vail of a *Free State*. *Monk* having received the Articles agreed upon, recalls his Commissioners. And, casting *Wilks*, the principal of them, into Prison for exceeding his Orders, refuses to ratify the Treaty; and, declaring the Pacification null, breaks out into Open War.

The City of *London* during these Traverses, altho they had disapproved the Interruption of the *Rump*, did openly refuse to joyn with the Army; daring, by Petitions and Tumults, to manifest their Desires for a *Free Parliament*. And truly, such were the Sentiments of the whole Nation, which enraged the Souldiery to that height, that
a great

a great part of the Army was sent into the City to keep them in their Obedience, denouncing Death and Ruine to the obstinate. Nor did they thus attain the Ends of their Desires, opposed by the contrary Strivings of the People, who would be satisfied with nothing, but the Restitution of This, or the Convocation of a New *Parliament*. Which they at length assented to, but with most servile Restrictions.

There was nothing of moment, happened this while upon the Borders. *Monk* was resolved to delay and gain time; which he also did, by avoiding Battle, and amusing his Adversaries with another Treaty at *New-Castle*. But, *Fleetwood*, head of the Chymetical Republick, unequal for so great a Weight, as ignorant of his own Strength; a Man neither constant to himself nor bravely perfidious, thinks of laying down his Burthen. Which he was the more inclined to, as believing, if *Lambert* returned with Victory, his Reign would be but very short. To this, his Endeavours to reduce the Fleet had proved but vain, and that the Souldiers sent against the Rebels at *Portsmouth*, had revolted to them. To all this, he wanted Money for the Army he commanded, the Souldiers being ready to Mutiny for want of Pay, and would infallibly rage with all the Extravagancies of Sedition and Tumult. Prest with so many Evils, and dreading greater, this miserable *Holder-Forth*, wretchedly submits his Grandeur to the *Rump*, which he had so lately routed; and, with Dec. 26. fordid Assentation, permits his old Masters to return to their Assembly as before.

The *Rump* being thus restored, their first Business was, to remove *Lambert*, by whom they had been disturbed, from his Command. Which was not difficult to effect; for, the *Irish* Brigades left him, and *Desborough's* Regiment of Horse, by the Example

ample of *Fleetwood's* Souldiers, had abandoned him, which the rest of his Army likewise did, upon receiving the *Parliaments* Pleasure and Orders for that purpose. So that, this *General* who so lately hoped for Triumphs, by a strange Vicissitude of things, was forced to search for a Retreat to hide himself, not unworthy the Fate that attended him, since he suffered himself to be deprived of so great an Army, without the Circumstance of a Blow. Moreover, as most ample Conditions had been formerly presented to *Oliver*, and his Son *Richard*, upon returning to their Duty; so, no less Honours and Dignities, with the same Arguments, had been offered by the Lord *Hatton* in the King's Name to *Lambert*; and, not without Threats (which proved Prophecies) That if he refused this Opportunity, the King's Restitution would be wrought, and that suddainly without him, and against his Will. He should therefore make use of the Occasion, to render himself and Posterity great to after Ages. But, this Advice was in vain, he, as the rest, being blinded with Ambition and the Frantick Desire of Rule.

Monk being glad that the Enemy was dispersed without a Blow, enters *England* with his little Army of Five Thousand Men; tho the *Parliament* had assigned him but Five Hundred, sending the rest back with *Morgan* into *Scotland*. All the several *Parties* and *Factions*, had an eye upon his Motions. The *Rump* presumed by his Means, to tame the Contumacious City; and, the Citizens hoped that he would compel the *Rump* to admit of the *Secluded Members* again, or fill the Vacancies with new Elections. They had sent their Sword-Bearer to Complement him upon his coming into *England*, and he was likewise congratulated by all the *Provinces* he past thro, as also by Deputations from the most remote Counties. The

desires

desires of all good Men were, for a *Free Parliament*, as the only remedy against the impending Evils, and, the true means to reduce the *Commonwealth* to its pristine Forms of Government, and most holy Laws again. *Monk*, tho he was of the same Opinion, did not as yet think it convenient to discover himself so far. Lest therefore, he might displeate those, for whose sake he had armed, his Returns to those many Addresses to him were general and civil, intimating, that he would acquaint the *House* with their Petitions, and recommend them ; but, exhorts them for the present, that they keep themselves quiet and within the Bounds of Modesty, permitting the Disposal of Affairs to the Judgment and Prudence of the *Parliament*. And, thus he moves forwards with slow Marches, forming the Garrisons and Forces in his Way to his own Humour. The *Rump* troubled that he was come with more Forces than they had designed, he pretending to secure them from all violence by them, solicitous of the many Petitions and Addresses to the *General*, and convinced of the Hate of all Men towards themselves, not knowing where to fix, send Two of their Members *Scot* and *Robinson*, cunning Men to him, under pretence of congratulating his Arrival in *England*, but in effect to pry into his Actions, and to see what was to be expected from him. *Monk* received these Gentlemen with the greatest Observance imaginable, very careful lest he might betray himself by any Inadvertency to these crafty Discoverers.

Being come to *St. Albans*, he was again saluted by a Splendid Embassy from the *City*, which he received and dismissed with great Civility, covering his Purposes, with a profound Diffimulation. On the Second of *February*, he entered the *City* with his Army, and took his Lodging at

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White.

White-Hall, against the Opinion of all Men. The Third Day being attended upon by *Scot* and *Robinson* into the *House*, he refused the Chair appointed for him. But, leaning upon it, after he had received the *Speaker's* Thanks and Complements for his great Service in restoring the *Parliament* by his Council and Arms, he replied in these Terms. First, *having modestly declined so great praises ; since he had done nothing but what his Duty obliged him to, He humbly offered to them, That they would be pleased to satisfy the People's Expectations, by a Vindication of their Laws and Liberties, God having restored them, not so much to study their own as the Publick Welfare.* He then desired them, *To remove the Jealousies some Men conceived, of their Design of perpetuating themselves in the Government ; and, that mindful of future Parliaments, they would fix a Period to this.* Moreover, he advised them, *Not to burthen the Subjects with New Oaths.* And finally, *That they should take heed to the Royallists and Fanaticks ; and commending Scotland, and a Free State to their Care, he finished.* There were they in the Assembly, who fancied, he spake more like a *Dictator* than an *Orator*, and yet he left them, loaden with Thanks and Congratulations, to take his place appointed him in the *Council of State*. Here, he prudently declined the *Oath of Abjuration* presented to him ; not as absolutely refusing it, but as desiring time to consider of it. For, the *Rump* compell'd all in Office, to a Renunciation of the Right and Title of the King. By which means, they insured them in their Society, and ensnared them in the same Bond of *Rebellion* with themselves.

The *Londoners* deceived in their Expectations, began to Mutiny. They will acknowledge no Authority, but that of a *Free Parliament*, and make a *Decree* in their *Common Council*, that for the

the future, they will pay no Taxes nor Imposts whatever, to any but by order of such a Convention, full and entirely their own Masters. The *Rump*, mad with Anger, command *Monk* to march into the City with his Army, and order him to beat down the Gates and Portcullises, break their Posts and take away their Chains out of the Streets. Several also of the Prime Citizens, Assertors of Liberty, were put in the *Tower*, Sectaries and Fanaticks, being introduced into their Vacancies. The People were amazed at these Actions of *Monk*, from whom they had hoped better things. Whilst he, revolving the Odiousness of what he had done; however necessitated to it, by the pressing Commands of the *Juncto*, and lest he should imprudently spoil what he had so well begun; and, not ignorant that these Tasks had been imposed upon him, as well to try his Obedience as to break the Friendship and Intelligence which was betwixt him and the City, resolved to attempt greater Matters. To all this, he apprehended a Diminution of his Power with the Souldiers, which was likewise effected that very Day; the Command of the Army being given to a *Septemvirate* of their own Confidants, he being but one of the Number. This highly displeased him; nor could he endure Co-Equals in Power, which the *Rump* forgetful that it was *Lambert's* Case, had obtruded upon him. And, who indeed can endure Sharers in that Power, he is solely Master of? *Monk* impatient of so sordid an Indignity, complains to his Officers of this Mutilation of his Authority; who, upon consideration of the Matter of Fact, did unanimously declare, That the *Parliament* forgetful of them by whose Merit they did reign, had designed and resolved to cashier them, and, by continuing their Session, to perpetuate their Tyranny over the most Noble *English* Nation.

Feb. 9.

Nation. Upon these Grounds the Army marches into *London*, resolving to joyn Hands with the Citizens, now Assertors of the Publick Liberty, and declare, together with them, for a *Free Parliament*, as the only Remedy for so many Evils. Being thus united, the Souldiers pathetically testified their Resentments, and Sorrow for the Injuries and forced Violence done to that Noble City, which was put upon them against their Wills. This happy Conjunction, fill'd the Town and whole Kingdom with so universal a Joy, that the People demonstrated their Satisfaction by their Acclamations, ringing of their Bells and infinite Bonfires, besides the roasting of all manner of *Rumps*, in Contempt of the present *Juncto*; resounding in these Transports and glad Ecstasies, the Name and Fame of the *General*.

The *Mock-Parliament* troubled at this unexpected Change, and foreseeing their infallible Ruin, if *Monk* persisted, omitted no Arts, no Allurements, Wiles, Flatteries, Threats, Treasons, or any other means whereby they might reclaim *Monk* or destroy him. It is affirmed, that the *Sectaries*, who could suffer any *Lord*, but their own, whom they had so cruelly offended; offered him the *Protectorate*, upon condition he would not change Party. Which he Prudently, as well as Loyally, refused, considering, that tho the Employment was magnificent, yet it was very hazardous, the stream of the Peoples Inclinations flowing towards their old Government. It was reported, that *Monsieur Bourdeaux*, the Embassadour of *France*, offered the same, but, with the same success, though he had also offered the Assistance of *France* for securing of the Dignity.

Monk

Monk had given the *junsto*, who had usurp'd the Power over their Colleagues (they themselves being scarce an eight part of the whole) a Day, by which they were to fill their Vacancies with new Elections. Which being omitted by the *Fanaticks*, the *Secluded Members* having given him satisfaction in several Conferences, why they ought to be readmitted, were, however mainly opposed by the *Rumpers* and chief of their Conspiracy, freely permitted to return to their Duty again. The *House* being encreased by double the Number, and at liberty to act, began where they had ended in 1648. Voting the *Concessions of Charles the Martyr* in the Isle of Wight to be satisfactory, and declare, *That what ever had been done by their Usurping Colleagues since, was null, and of no effect.* But, these Gentlemen being *Presbyterians*, and consequently tenacious of their old Principles, condemned indeed what was done by the *Independants*, but recall'd none of their own *Unjust Decrees*, nor voted any thing at present in favour of the King. On the contrary, they declare, *That Charles I. did first raise up Arms against the Parliament.* They impose again, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the Root of all our Evils; and Vote, *That none who had born Arms against the Parliament, should be admitted in the next Elections.* But withal, they make *Monk* Captain-General of all their Forces; vote the Gates, Portcullises, Posts, Chains, &c. of the City, to be set up again at the Publick Charge; release *Booth* and others out of Prison; put the *Militia* of the Kingdom into good Hands; and having fixed a day for their Dissolution, as they had been obliged by *Monk*, they appointed a *Free Parliament* to convene in April next. These things being done to the Satisfaction of all Men; they further constitute a *Council of State*, who should govern during the *Interregnum.* And, re-

commending the Souldiery to *Monk's* Care and Prudence, they dissolve themselves by their own Act and Decree (putting an end to that *Long* and *Bloody Parliament*, which could not be determined but by their own Consent) after they had exercised their Tyranny upon their Fellow-Subjects (besides the Horrid Murder of their Sovereign) the Space of Nineteen Years; except *Oliver's Quinquennium*, *Richard's* short Empire, and *Lambert's* Ten Weeks domineering.

And thus ended that unhappy Parliament, which gave Life and Being to those viperous Factions of Presbytery and Independency; by whose violence and impetuous ambition of ruling, they did not only destroy the *Hierarchy* of the Church, but Monarchy out of the Commonwealth, involving themselves in the Ruin of that Parent that begot them.

'Tis scarce credible, with what excess of joy the People, wearied with the continuance of that *Black Parliament*, and freed from the fear of its Resurrection, entertained the News of its Dissolution. The *Fanaticks* only, and the *Dependants* of the *Hated Juncto*, who left nothing unattempted for the perpetuating the Session of the *Regicides*, were averse to it. To effect which, they solicited Petitions out of the City against their Dissolution; they tempted the Tribunes and Chief Officers, with the usual Charms of Largeſſes to their Party; they caused fictitious Lists of the *Militia* to be printed. And, when all would not prevail, some of them, as *St. Johns* and others, were for imposing Conditions upon the King (for they no more doubted of his Restitution) that might restrain him from acting beyond their pleasure. But His Majesty's Rights and Prerogatives, were inviolably restored to him; by the Prudence and noble Endeavours of *Monk*. This enraged the

Regicides

Regicides to that height, that they began now to condemn their own Precipitation and Folly, accusing themselves of Madness, in that, that they did persecute *Lambert* so rashly, and unseasonably to their own Destruction. They now call to mind, how ridiculously they had rejected the King's Gracious Letters presented them by *Nevil* (who had accidentally received them) wherein they were assured of Indignity for all their monstrous Crimes and Treasons, if they yet at length would return to their Duty. They therefore, like Men in Despair, agitated by the Flagitiousness of their Guilt, resolved to vindicate their Crimes by attempting greater, and to try the Matter once more by the Sword. Nor was it long, before an occasion presented it self. *Lambert*, who had been imprisoned in the *Tower*, because he had refused to give bail for his good Behaviour, had escaped thence and appear'd armed about *Northampton*. Some *Sectaries*, and several disbanded Souldiers repaired to him; all the Fanaticks of the Army being upon the Wing, till stay'd with the News of his Defeat. This Sedition was extinguish'd in its Birth. And *Lambert* being taken by *Ingolsby* without a Blow, his Party was easily dispersed, whilst he was returned into a more safe Custody in the *Tower*.

During this Interval of *Parliaments*, the *Council of State* administer'd Affairs with much Prudence and Courage; and, putting out a Proclamation against all Disturbers of the Peace, easily restrained the Seditious Minds of the most dissenting. *Monk* also, purging his Army, by the Casheering of *Fanaticks*; and, living more familiarly with his Officers than usual, reconciled the most fierce amongst them, to an Acquiescence in the Resolves of the future *Parliament*. The Disturbers of our Peace, being thus suppressed or quieted, the *Loyal Party*, as if indued with new Spirits, put on more
 V 4 chearful

cheerful Countenances, and shaking off their Fears with their Shackles, appeared more eminently conspicuous. But, being traduced by their Adversaries, as thirsting after Revenge and Blood, they abundantly demonstrated by their *Declaration*, their own Innocence, and the Enemies Malice, testifying, *That they would leave Vengeance to God, and Justice to the Disposal of Parliament.*

And now the City of *London* did also publish a *Declaration*, whereby they endeavoured to clear themselves from the Guilt of the *Regicide* and *Usurpation*; as being actuated and oppressed, by the Counsels of Despair and Violence. Nor will we deny, but that they contributed by the like Tumults to the *Restitution*, as they had formerly fomented the War.

We have hitherto made but little mention of the Particular Actions of our King; for, we would not intermingle the History of the *Best of Princes*, with that of the *most Scelerate* of *Subjects*. We shall therefore, deliver the *Series* of his Actions by themselves, wherein notwithstanding will appear, as Extreams do best shine by Contraries, not only the Eminency of his Vertues, but the Errors, Impieties, Rebellions, Treasons, Slaughters, Sacriledges, Pride, Rapine and Infamy of his Enemies. For, what Mischief did they not commit, and were guilty of?

After the King's miraculous Escape from *Worcester*, through a thousand Hazards, he at length got safe into *France*; being received at *Paris*, as if sent from *Heaven*. A pregnant Example, of the Care of *Providence* for the Persons of Kings. That *Monarchy* was actuated then, with well-nigh the same Spirit of Division, which had so lately distracted *England*, the *Parisians* inveighing against the Errors of the Government and Evil Counsellors, pointing particularly at *Mazarin* with

with the same Rage and Passion, as the *Londoners* did against *Strafford*. The Princes were grieved, that a Stranger should be *First Minister of State*, and would have him therefore removed. In order to which, they raised an Army, obtaining Assistance from *Spain* (that Nation being very officious in helping their Neighbours upon such like Accompts.) Nor did they find King *Lewis* unprovided; but resolved to oppose them with all his Power. King *Charles* perswaded *Lewis* and the *Princes*, by his own example, to peace; but, could not prevail, tho he carried himself with that Equality, that both sides were Jealous of his Conduct. For, the *Princes* refused to lay down Arms, unless the *Cardinal* were removed. And, the King, with the *Queen-Regent*, his Mother, would not have Laws prescribed to them by their Subjects. The *Princes*, had called the *Duke of Lorrain* to their Aid; who also entered *France*, with an Army; but returned, upon the Interposition of King *Charles*, who had discoursed with him about his undertaking the Protection of *Ireland*. This enraged the *Princes* against *Charles*, who blamed him much; and the *Parisians* did dare to calumniate and affront him to that Height, that he was forced to retire to *St. Germains*. Where he also, for the most part continued, until a League being made betwixt *Cromwell*, and that *Crown* (which he had opposed in vain) he was compelled again to go into Exile, out of his very Banishment.

The *Duke of York* had thus long served in the Armies of *France*, with such Bravery and Fortitude, particularly in the Battle of *Estampes*, that he attracted the Eyes of all Men upon him. And, his behaviour in General, in Court and Camp, were so signal, that the *Duke of Longville* would have bestowed his Daughter upon him, the greatest Fortune

Fortune in *France*. And Marshal *Turenne* being very Sick, recommended him to his King, as the fittest Person in that Great *Monarchy*, to command his Armies. But, he would not stay in *France* after the King his Brother, though he was offered to be *Lieutenant-General* of their Forces in *Italy*; but, leaving that inhospitable Land, accepted the Invitation of *Don John*, the Governour of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, where he largely asserted the Glories of his former Actions.

The King in his passage to *Germany*, was received at *Leige* with all imaginable Honour; and, going thence to the *Spaw*, met his Sister, the *Princess* of *Orange* there. Very many Persons of Quality, as is usual at the Season, but in unusual Numbers upon this Occasion, were come thither out of the Neighbouring Nations, as well to see this Royal Congress, as to take the Waters. And all of them paid His Majesty as much Reverence, and Honour, as if he had been their own Natural Prince; or, would have vyed with us, who had the Happiness then to attend him, in Duty and Obedience, and Veneration for him. He was afterwards received at *Colen* by the Magistrates there, which the same Testimonies of good-will and Esteem: Where he resolved to fix his Court for some Time, as a place delectable, and convenient, for his Designs. A while after, he accompanied his Sister in her Return to *Holland*, as far as *Dusseldorp*, where he was magnificently received by the *Duke* of *Nemburgh*, and treated during his Stay with Hunting and other Royal Divertisements. Being returned to *Cologn*, he found his Brother the *Duke* of *Gloucester* there, lately arrived from *France*. The King had been informed, how he had been thrust out of *England* by the *Regicides*, which they had done to save the Expence of his Maintenance, and to Ship-wreck his Religion.

gion. Besides, it was supposed, that *Cromwell* had designed his Removal, for that some in his *Council* had moved his Assumption to the *Crown*, as no ways obnoxious or prejudiced by reason of his Youth, as is already mentioned. 'Tis scarce imaginable, with what Constancy he defended his *Religion*, however very young. In so much, that armed with Instructions from the Lord *Hatton*, and Doctor *Convers*, he eluded the Assaults of *Abbot Montague* and the Marquess of *Plessis*, the one employed by the *Queen-Regent* of *France*, and the other by the *Queen* of *England*. Neither the charming Pleasures of the *French Court*, nor the Purple Dignities of the *Church of Rome*, nor yet the extream Severities of the *Queen* his Mother, who did not only refuse him his ordinary Sustenance, but denied him the Solace of her Benediction, were of strength to shake his Faith. Which they yet would endeavour to force, by shutting him up in the *Jesuits Colledge*; if the King his Brother, displeased with these Noveltries, had not sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to his Rescue, and to bring him to *Cologne* to him; which he did, though not without Difficulty. But, nothing was impossible for this Great Man.

After this, the King went to *Frankfort*, famous for its *Martyrs*. And, in his Progress, saluted the *Queen Christina* of *Sweden* at *Koningssteyn*. Where, after a Reception worthy Two such great Princes, and some private Discourses, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and his Royal Sister did the same. The Marquess of *Ormond*, Earl of *Normich*, Lord *Newburgh*, and others of His Majesty's Train, being also admitted, paid that great Princess the Respects due to her Highness. The *Queen* continued her Journey to *Insprug*, where, after a splendid Reception from the *Arch-Duke*, she made Public Profession of the *Roman Religion*.

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The King leaving *Frankfort*, with the universal Acclamations of the People, and thundring of their Cannon, went to *Ments*, whither he had been invited by that *Electors*, where his Reception was truly Royal. And, after three Days Treat, parting with the same Magnificence, returned to *Cologn*. Nor did his Majesty spend the Time idly, whilst the *Regicides* triumphed in *England*. He had already sent Embassies, to all the Princes of *Europe*, to desire their Assistance against his *Rebels*. But, with little success, though the Cause were Common. The *French* flourishing in Promises, made a League with the *Regicides*. The *Spaniards*, though they seemed to grieve at the Murther of the King, were yet the first that acknowledged and owned this rising *Common-wealth*. The *Grand Seignior*, corrupted with *English* Gold, delivered Sir *Henry Hyde*, the King's Embassador at that Court, against the Law of Nations, into the Hands of the *Parricides*; who Murthered him, by cutting off his Head before the *Exchange*. *Swedeland* was then in an unsettled Condition. *Portugal* unable, being attacked both by the *Spaniard*, and *Dutch* in the *Indies*. *Poland* was worried with her own Domestick Distractions. *Denmark* was exhausted, with the Treasure formerly lent to *Charles I.* Others indeed, testified their good-wills, by their Contributions; as, the *Great Duke* of *Muscovy*, the *Count* of *Oldenburg*, the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Brandenburg*, and some other *Princes* of *Germany*, by the *Earl* of *Rochester's* negotiating at *Ratisbone*. But, what could this import, to make a new and great War? Whereas, it scarce sufficed, to defray the Charges of the Embassies.

The King then seeing no Hopes of his Restoration from abroad, wisely sought a Remedy where the Wound was received, from the Beneyolence and

and Loyalty of his Subjects, which the Eminence of his Vertues could not in Justice refuse him. Neither was he any way wanting to himself, but most intent upon all Occasions; leaving nothing unattempted, whereby he might raise his sinking Affairs.

He kept constant Correspondence with his Friends in *England*. Caus'd great Disturbances to the Rebels on every side, and exposing himself to the Danger, did more than once incite the People to arm against the Usurpers. He now kept his Court at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, nearer hand, having been invited by the *Spaniards*, repenting their too early Compliments to the *Regicides*; and supplied with 9000 l. per annum; which Money was punctually repaid upon His Majesty's Restitution. The Duke, in the mean Time, having recalled all the Kings Subjects in the *French* Service, joyning them with those in the *Spanish Low-Countries*, compos'd a considerable Body; which he commanded, with no less Honour than he had done in *France*, although they were well-nigh destroyed by the fatal Valour of the *English Rebels* at *Mardike* and the Battle of *Dunkirk*. The Duke more illustrious by Misfortunes, did not only for some time resist, but retard the Progress of the Victors; until oppress'd by multitudes, as is already said, he was necessitated to comply with the Fate of the vanquished. *Cromwell* dying soon after, however a way seem'd thereby to be opened to the Kings Restoration, his Majesty received the News of it with remarkable Constancy and Calmness of Mind, in no ways insulting, though he saw his most Mortal Enemy extinguished in the Person of this Usurper. Cardinal *Mazarin*, however averse to King *Charles*, did at the same time congratulate the Queen his Mother, upon the Hopes of her Sons Restoration, since he was, by the Death of that

that Tyrant, delivered from his most implacable and successful Enemy.

The sudden Change in *England*, followed by the Deposing of *Richard*, and the Resurrection of the *Rump*, and the other Innovations already mentioned, which followed; as they augmented the Hopes of the King at Home, so they varied the Counsels of Princes abroad: Which his Majesty applied, in as much as was possible, to his own Use, by Negotiations and Embassies. But there being now a *Treaty* in Agitation betwixt *France* and *Spain*, he would himself be present at it. For, if a Peace were concluded, which was more than probable, betwixt these great Princes, it was but reasonable to suppose, that they might spare some of their numerous Forces to assist an injured King, their Ally by Blood, and Common Interest. And yet, the King would rather reduce his Rebel-Subjects to Obedience, by the Appearance of his Power, than by the Use of his Forces. In the mean time, accompanied with the *Duke of York* his Brother, and the *Marquess of Ormond*, he halted *Incognito* through *France*, having saluted the Queen his Mother at *Paris*, in his way to *St. John De Laz*, where the Great Ministers of the Two *Crowns* were then in *Treaty*. *Don Louis de Haro*, upon Notice of the Kings Approach, went to meet and receive him. Which he did (alighting from his Horse, and Embracing and kissing his Knees) with as much Honour and Splendour, as if he had been his Master the King of *Spain*. The next Day, his Majesty was visited by *Cardinal Mazarin*, the other great *Plenipotentiary*, who was courtly, though reserved. And yet, the King behaved himself with so much charming Prudence to both these *Ministers*, and gained so much upon them, that he not only defeated the Designs of *Lockhart*, the *Regicides* Embassadour then there, but

but having obtained an Assurance of being assisted by the Forces of the *Two Crowns* for his Restitution, he was dismissed with the same Honours he had been received. At *Paris* in his Return, he was splendidly treated by the *Duke of Orleans*, as King of *England*; and acknowledged such by all Men, none now doubting, of his sudden Restoration. From thence, he came to *Brussels*, entering into that City publicly, and with a Pomp worthy his Grandeur, where he also was magnificently caressed, and where he designed to continue until the Dissolution of the *Parliament*.

Whilst these things were in Agitation, the Distractions and Risings in *England* were various; the Impatience of the *Royal Party* to restore their *Prince*, precipitating them, as usually, into great Inconveniencies. And yet, they got to a Head in *Cheshire*, under *Sir George Booth*, as is already mentioned; and, the King himself was in private about *St. Malos*, attending some favourable Occasion to transport him into *England*. These Risings, especially *Booth's*, were lookt upon as formidable, it being supposed, that *Monk* was intermingled with them. But, they being suppressed every where, the King returned again to *Brussels*, in expectation of the event of the Pacification concluded betwixt the *Two Crowns*. He had not continued long there, when being informed of the Differences betwixt the Army and *Rump*, his Hopes being raised thereby, he took also a Resolution not to be wanting in himself. He had tryed the ways of War, and had also attempted the perfidious Fidelity of his Enemies, but with no Success. He will therefore, put himself upon other Counsels: And seeing *Monk* commanded the *Rebels* in *Scotland*, in Chief, he will enquire into the Secret of his Intentions and Mind. The King had found him a sharp Enemy, but Noble; free from

from Calumnies and Revilings, nor any way distained with the inexpressible Guilt of the *Regicide*. In the former Wars, he had served King *Charles I.* but being taken, and perhaps neglected, he preferred Liberty before Confinement, and the Management of Arms to the clinking of Shackles. It was therefore thought expedient, to attempt him under these Circumstances, and endeavour to reclaim him with the Charms and Honour of being the *Deliverer* of his *Country* and *King*, the *Church*, and *State*. Sir *John Greenville*, eminent for his Loyalty, and of kin to *Monk*, was employed to manage this important Secret. Who in order to it, having gained Mr. *Nicolas Monk*, a Minister, the *General's* Brother, on whom, as *Patron*, he had bestowed a very considerable Benefice, he sent him into *Scotland*, with Commission, in the King's Name, to offer him any Conditions he should please to Demand. But, *Monk* wisely suspicious, under pretence of the incertain Vicissitudes of Affairs, answered ambiguously, neither openly declaring his sentiments nor wholly concealing them. He also, having exacted an Oath of secrecy from his Brother, sent him back with his Daughter, which was the Pretext for his coming into *Scotland*; as also, a Message to the Members outed by *Lambert*, to assure them of his Fidelity to the *Parliament*. These Gentlemen, raised with these Hopes, presumed all things upon that Account, and was a plausible Vail for him in the modelling and forming his Army, according to his Designs. But *Greenville* being not well satisfied with the Parson's Declaration, acquainted the King with it. Who, notwithstanding the Abstruseness of it, drew no ill Augury thence, commanding *Greenville* to attend the *General* when he came to *London*, and make all imaginable Enquiry, of what Intentions he was towards His Majesty's Restitution. And, this he happily

happily performed; being admitted by the Assistance of Mr. *Morrice*, a great Confident of *Monk's*, and afterwards *Secretary of State* to the King. The Interview was in *Morrice's* Chamber; where, no Body but themselves being present, *Greenwill* delivered *Monk* the King's Letters. To which, after Twice reading of them, he answered, *That he would not only comply with the King's Desires, but also restore him without Conditions, or any the least Diminution of his Royal Authority.* Neither would he think of any Terms for himself, humbly submitting that to the King's Pleasure when he returned. *Greenwill* ecstasied with the Joy of his Success, desired Letters to the King, to testifie so great a Secret; but he replied, *That he would commit nothing to Writing, nor send any Body to the King besides himself, whom he had found so faithful and secret.* He hoped, His Majesty would Pardon what was past, professing, *That he always had a Veneration for the King, and now upon this first Occasion would testifie his Obedience to him, with the Hazard of his Life and Fortune.* *Greenwill* overjoyed with this happy Conclusion, hastened to acquaint the King with it at *Brussels*, who was infinitely pleased with *Monk's* generous Actings; especially, having received Letters out of *England* from some Friends there, desiring him to accept of the *Isle of Wights* Conditions, they being the best they could at present procure him. But, *Greenwill* was, by Advice of Sir *Edmond Hyde* (then made *Chancellor*) and the *Marquess of Ormond*, presently returned into *England*, with a Commission for *Monk*, as General of all the Forces in the Three Kingdoms; and, a Letter all writ with the King's own Hand, full of gracious Expressions and Acknowledgments for so great a Benefit. *Greenwill* had also other Letters, which we shall mention in their Place. And, lest he might himself re-

turn empty, after he had been so signally meritorious, the King honoured him with a Warrant for an *Earldom* and 3000 *l.* a Year.

Whilst these things were in Agitation, the *English* observing that the Treaty betwixt *France* and *Spain* upon the Borders, would end in a Peace, shewed themselves likewise not averse to it; especially considering, the vast Commerce they always had with the *Spanish* Countries. Hence followed, a spontaneous Cessation from Arms. But, the King would not expect the Event of it, for fear of being imposed upon here as he had been in *France*; and therefore, removed his Court to *Breda*, belonging to his Sister the *Princess* of *Orange*. The sudden Change in *England*, occasioned Changes of Councils. And, now it was supposed that the King should take shipping from *Calais*, or some Part in *Flanders*, having been earnestly invited thereto from both *France* and *Spain*: But, to content both he accepted of neither, but continued at *Breda*, eluding thereby the Arts of both Princes, the *French* Designs, as well as those of the *Spanish*, longing for the return of *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk* to their Obedience. The King then being secure at *Breda*, was saluted there by Deputies from the *States-General*, where he was also magnificently treated by the Publick.

The *Parliament* being now met, consisting of *Two Houses*, free, and full in their Numbers, their first Care was to give Publick Thanks to God for rescuing their Country from Usurpation and Tyranny; and, the next, to thank the *General*, who by his Courage and Conduct had contributed so mainly to it. They then Vote, Declare, and Decree, That the Government of *England* is Monarchical, consisting in a King and Two Houses of Parliament. After this, King *Charles I.* his Statues, thrown down by the *Sectaries*, were set up again; and,

and, the New Arms of the *Common wealth*, with extream Contumelies, torn and defaced, those of the King being put in their Places. A few Days after, the King himself, the *Members* of *Both Houses* assisting, and an Infinity of People, was with the usual Ceremonies, but unusual Transports of Joy, proclaimed at *Westminster*, in *London*, and afterwards in the whole Kingdom, King of Great Brittain and Ireland; In these following Terms:

Although it can no ways be doubted, but that his Majesty's Right and Title to these Crowns and Kingdoms, is and was every way compleat by the Death of his most Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation: Yet, since Proclamations in such Cases, have been always used, to the End that all good Subjects might upon this occasion testify their Duty and Respect. And, since the armed Violence and other Calamities of many Years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any Opportunity, wherein we might express our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majesty: We therefore, the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, and other Freemen of this Kingdom now present, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and Proclaim, That immediately upon the Decease of our late Sovereign, King Charles I. the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England, and all the Kingdoms, Dominions and Rights belonging to the same, did by inherent Birth-right, and lawful, undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most Excellent Majesty, King Charles II. as being Lineally, Justly and Lawfully, next Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm. And, that by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty God, He is of England, Scotland and Ireland, the most Potent, Mighty and Undoubted King, and thereunto we most humbly

and faithfully do submit, and oblige our selves our Heirs and Posterities for ever.

At the Ceremony of this *Proclamation*, the Publick Joy expressed by Shoutings, Acclamations of God *blefs the King*, Bells and Bonfires, were no less extraordinary than infinite, the People being at length redeemed out of so long and so wretched a Captivity, by the miraculous Restauration of their Beloved Prince.

Our most August *Monarch*, had hitherto, as is already mentioned, wandered in Foreign *Courts*, and as usual in the Disgraces of Fortune, too much neglected; especially, where Reason of State seemed more prevalent, than all the Tyes of Blood or Hospitality. He was at *Brussels*, the *Metropolis* of the *Spanish Neiberlands*, when he first heard of this Change in *England*; from whence he removed to *Breda*, a more secure place under the Circumstances of the present Times. And, now he hastens *Greenwill* away again, with Letters to the *Two Houses of Parliament*, to the City, to *Monk*, and to *Montague*, joynt General at Sea. In these Writings, *He Pardons all Men and all Crimes*, committed against his Royal Father or himself; except such as the Parliament should except against; promising further, *The Souldiers their Arrears tho' they bore Arms against him*; and, *That he would from that time receive them into his own Trust and Service, upon the same Terms they did now enjoy*, &c. This Declaration being received and read in *Parliament*, with inexpressible Satisfaction and Joy, was voted infinitely Satisfactory, and a splendid Embassy ordered to the forthwith sent to the King, with their humble Thanks for his Gracious Declaration and Letters; and, to invite and press His Majesty's return, to his Parliament and People. Six *Lords* and Twelve *Commoners*, with Twenty Principal Citizens, with a noble Train of Attendants, were

were sent upon this happy Occasion. Who, the Wind favouring them, after a quick Passage, found His Majesty at the *Hague* in *Holland*, where he had been treated and defrayed by the *States* of that *Province*, with all imaginable Demonstrations of Honour and Friendship. The Embassadors being admitted to the King's Presence and graciously heard, had their Desires crowned with a wish-for Answer. So, that nothing now impeded His Majesty's Return to his Dominions, but the Wind, which in favour to the kind *Dutch*, kept him some little time longer there. In the *interim*, the *Duke* of *York* visited the Fleet, lying at Anchor before *Scheveling*, under the Command of General *Montague*, formerly (as is mentioned) reconciled to His Majesty. After a magnificent Reception, his *Royal Highness* taking the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* from the Sea-men, and having changed the Names of several of the Prime Ships, restored this first Pledge of *Empire* to our *Monarch*.

The King having taken his Leave of the *States General*, and of the *States* of *Holland* in their Assemblies (the Honour of which visit they acknowledged in a most Elegant Speech, with all the Expressions of Gratitude and Satisfaction) he embarked in a Boat, prepared for him by the *States*, whose Flag had this memorable Inscription,

Quo Fas et Fata vocarunt.

The Ways, the Downs, the Sand Hills and Shores, were crowded with an innumerable Multitude of all Sorts of People, echoing his Departure with Vows for his good Success. By the way, upon the Approach of a Brigantine from the Fleet, he entered into it. And, going aboard the *Royal Charles*, formerly the *Naesby*, with his *Two Royal Brothers*, the *Dukes* of *York* and *Gloucester*, he was

received there by *Montague* with all submissive Veneration, who again treated him with a Gracious Testimonial of his Affection. The Season was very clear, and the Sea so calm, that his *Majesty* mounting upon the Poop did daien to turn his Eyes to the Shore which he had so lately left; and, seeing the infinite Crowds of Spectators there, he was pleased to say, *That he thought his own Subjects could scarce have more Tenderness for him than those People, on whose Affections he saw he reigned no less, than he was going to reign on the Wills of the English.*

* Prince of
Orange.
* Queen of
Bohemia.
* Princess
Royal.

After this having kiss'd his Nephew * and the Queen his Aunt *, and bid them farewell, he had much ado to be separated from his Sister. * This matchless Princess, who had born and slighted so many Vicissitudes of Evil; and who had frequently solaced the Calamities of her Brothers by her charming Discourses, can scarce now, without shaking her Constancy, endure the Absence of a few Days; being what she had desired with so much Impatience, and what was so glorious to both of them.

The Anchors being at length weigh'd, he left this friendly Shore, with the thundering of the Cannon on both sides, and sail'd towards *England*, now truly his own. On the 25th of *May*, he came into *Dover Road*; where, upon his landing, he was received by *Monk* with Joy and Observance. This best of Servants, had thrown himself upon his Knees, to adore this best of Masters. But, the King not forgetful of what he owed him, took him up, embraced him and kiss'd him. Other Noble Men and Persons of Quality there present, were likewise admitted to the Honour of his Majesty's Hand. Which done, the King, with his Two Royal Brothers, the General and the Duke of *Buckingham*, took Coach, amongst the charming

Con-

Congratulations and Shouts of a pleased People, and went that Night to *Canterbury*. The next Day, *Monk* was install'd *Knight of the Garter*, the Ensigns of that Honour, being put upon him by the Two Royal Brothers. He went hence towards *London*, accompanied with the whole *Nobility* of the Nation, and a numberless Multitude of the *Commons*, flocking together to see their *Restorer*. He viewed the Ships at *Chatham* by the Way, and the Army drawn up upon *Black-Heath*. On the 29th of *May*, it being his Majesty's Birth-Day, he entered *London* in Triumph, he himself the greatest and goodliest part of it. Where he was received by the Universality of the People, sensible of the End of their Miseries, and the smothering of a most cursed *Rebellion*, with joy not to be expressed, scarcely conceived.

P A R T III.

B O O K I.

The REBELLION breaks into new Flames. Some Millenaries secur'd. Venner's Insurrection, and End. The Presbyterians stickle for new Elections. Several Seditious Tumults detected and punished. The Plague consumes the People. The Conflagration of the City. Tumults in Scotland. Oates's Plot. The Parliament insist upon removing the Duke from the King's Presence and Councils. It is dissolved. Another Parliament call'd. The Duke retires from Court. A new Council chosen. The Parliament refuse the King Money, and insist upon the Bill of Exclusion. It is also dissolved, another being Summon'd. A new Rebellion in Scotland. The Arch-bishop of St. Andrew's inhumanly butchered. The Rebels are defeated at Bothwel-Bridge. The King sick. He recovers. The Duke returns to Court. Monmouth Cabals, and is outed of his Employments. The Lord Strafford beheaded. The Parliament dissolv'd, and succeeded by another at Oxford, which is likewise dismiss'd. College is hang'd and Shaftsbury try'd. The strange Encrease of the Fanaticks. Their Insolence and Power in the City. They form a Conspiracy. The Council of Six. The Plot to Murther the King and Duke. The Providential Fire at New-Market. Keeling discovers the Conspiracy. Russel and Sidney are executed. Monmouth absconds, but upon his Submission is pardoned. He again transgresses, and is banished. The King dyes of an Apoplexy. The Duke succeeds.

King

KING *Charles II.* being restored to the Greatness and Glories due to his Birth and Virtues, was not yet Crowned, when the *Faction* hardened in Wickedness, did dare to disturb his, and the Publick Quiet of the Nation. The Acts of Grace and Oblivion Decreed in Favour of these worst of Rebels, could not hinder them to conspire against the King; by whose immense Bounty, they enjoyed not only Impunity for their Crimes, but Rewards in the undisturb'd Possession of their Rapines and unjust Acquisitions. But, no Indulgence of the Prince, could acquire him the Good Will of this perverse Generation. Some therefore, whose Clandestine Councils were penetrated into, were secured; *as, Overton*, sometimes a Major-General in the Rebels Army, *Day, Courtney* and others, *Millenaries*, or, *Fifth Monarchy Men*. Nor did the Detention of these, hinder the Rest of the Party to attempt their designed Insurrection, which they did with such impetuous Madness, that it exceeds all Belief, and may justly lay an Imputation upon the Credit of History in the Relation of it. For, how is it possible to imagine, that a handful of Men, not exceeding Fifty in Number, should undertake, and that in Cold Blood, and by Day-light, to assault so great a City as *London*, with Confidence of Success? By this unheard of Enterprize, it is visible how far the outrageous Liberty of the *Enthusiasticks*, may oblige them to dare.

On the Sixth of *January*, having armed themselves in their *Conventicle*, with Weapons they had conveyed thither (for the King had indulged to all Opinions, a Liberty of serving God their own Way) they came about Twy-light to *St. Paul's Church-yard*. Where, drawing up their small Army, they placed Sentinels in all the Avenues that led to it. One of these, kill'd a Man that
passed

passed by, for that being asked, *Who he was for?* he had answered, *for God and King Charles.* This Noise raising the Neighbouring Train'd Bands, they were repell'd by the *Rebels*, who marched thence thro *Bishops-Gate*; and, wheeling about, entred again by *Cripple Gate*. And finally, forcing their Passage by affrighting the Guard at *Aldersgate*, they declared, They took up Arms for *King Jesus*. Continuing their March thence, they shot a Constable dead in *Beech-Lane*, who would have opposed them, and retreated thence into *Cane-Wood*. Where they absconded for some time, with Design to raise greater Tumults in the City; which they might probably have done, if they had not been prevented by a Party of Horse and Foot sent to disperse them. Nor were they thus appeased. For, having publisht an abominable *Libel* against the *Royal Family*, they returned to *London* with more wild Confidence than before. The King was then at *Portsmouth*, whither he had accompanied the Queen his Mother, and the Princess *Henrietta* his Sister, in their Way to *France*. These Wretches, would not omit so fair an Opportunity as seem'd to present it self by his Absence; but, take Arms again, under the Conduct of one *Venner*, a Wine-Cooper. This Fellow, by his Preaching had strangely incensed the furious Zeal of these Mad-men, pronouncing to them with Confidence, *That no Weapon framed against them should prosper, nor a Hair of their Heads perish.* They should look upon the Example of Gideon. *It was the same thing to God, whether he saved by a few, or a great Multitude.* These Discourses, together with the Impunity of their first Attempt, precipitated these desperate *Enthusiasticks*, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace and their own Destruction.

Their

Their first Appearance, was in *Thread-Needle-street*, behind the *Exchange*, where they beat back a Party sent from the Guard there. But, upon the Advance of more Forces, they retreated to *Bishops Gate street*; where, after a smart Encounter, Two of each side being slain, slipping here and there away, they disappear'd. A while after, like the Flashing of Clouds, they were seen again at *College-Hill*; from whence crossing *Cheap-side*, they pass'd into *Wood-street*. Here, after a Cruel Fight, wherein they shew'd Skill, as well as Valour, having ruffled some *Train'd-Bands*, and repell'd the Horse Guards that came to assist them, they were not overcome, until *Venner* being knockt down, and sorely wounded, and *Tuffney* and *Cragg*, Two of their fiercest as well Preachers as Combatants, were slain. These being killed, the rest fled; and, being for the most part taken, Eleven of them were drawn, hanged and quartered, some others, tho convicted, being repriev'd by the King's Clemency. There fell of the *Royallists* Two and Twenty, and as many of the *Rebels*. Those who were executed, expired with Execrations in their Mouths, against the King and the Government; and, Blatphemy against God, daring to say, *That if they were deceived or misled, God had deceived them.* Thus, no less wickedly, than foolishly charging God with their Fancies and Delusions.

The King having dissolved his First *Parliament*, which he had honoured with the Title of the *Healing Parliament*, had summon'd another. 'Tis remarkable, with what Industry the *Presbyterians* stickled in the Elections to choose *Members* of their own Faction. Tho to no purpose; for, the People now freed from the Impositions of the *Godly*, using their own Liberty in giving their Voices, and not forgetful of the Tyranny of the

Discipli-

1661.

Disciplinarians, did openly reject them ; which mainly contributed, to the Settlement of the Peace and Religion of the Kingdom. So that the *Parliament*, by their endeavours to restore the *Commonwealth* to its antient Splendor, so far intimidated those Walps of *Independency* and *Presbytery*, that they did dare to buzz after a New Change. The Champions of the late *Anarchy*, were the principal in this Conspiracy. But, being detected before they broke out, the * chief of them being apprehended, the design vanished without doing any great harm, except to the Contrivers of it.

* Barebone,
Moyer,
Salmon,
&c.

1662.

About the end of this Year, the *Novellists* were again suspected to hatch new Designs ; which gained Credit so far, that the City Train'd-Bands kept extraordinary Guards all the following Summer. But, the Plot being discovered, by the Confession of one of the Actors in it, was also expiated by the Execution of *Philips, Tongue, Gibs and Stubs*, for *High-Treason*. They had conceived a new Form of Government, their most secret Councils being actuated by a *Juncto* of Six. *Luillow* the Regicide, was designed to be their General, having devoted the King, the Duke, and the present Government to Destruction, and, to surrogate a new Domination of *Enthusiasticks* in their Place. Nor were the Fanaticks deterred with these Severities, against so many Criminals. The Poyson diffused, and the Factions uniting closer amongst themselves, contrive how to lay the Foundation of a New War. Their Consciences were so exagitated with their former Guilt, that their Fear of Punishment, obliged them to move in Contempt of the King's Mercy, as well as his Justice. The executed *Regicides*, were represented to the People as Martyrs, and their last Speeches upon the Gallows, were obtruded as the *Oracles* of expiring *Saints*. The Pulpits thundred Curses and Terrors, and the Streets crowded

crowded with Libels. One amongst the rest, that magnified the Example of *Ehud*, who kill'd the King of *Moab* by Surprise, was timely suppressed as it was peeping Abroad.

The unquiet Faction, were still acting or contriving; and, now they lay the *Scene* further off. 1663.
May 21.

They designed to intercept the Castle of *Dublin*, together with the Lord *Lieutenant*, the *Duke of Ormond*, in the Disguise of Labourers; whilst others were appointed, to seize the *Tower of London* and *White-Hall*; and, others again to surprise the Passages of the *Severne*, *Trent* and *Tine*, by possessing themselves of *Nottingham*, *Gloucester* and *New-Castle*. All the Rable of *Sectaries*, were engaged in this Conspiracy; some of *Cromwell's* Old Souldiers, as also the Assettors of the *Long Parliament*, how dissenting soever amongst themselves, yet agreeing like *Herod* and *Pilate*, to ruin the Government, and crucify the *Lord's Anointed*. But, this, as the rest of their Conspiracies, vanished in Smoke; Fifteen of them, confronted and convicted of this Black Treason, being executed, some at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, some at *York*; who dyed not only in their Impenitency, but with strange contempt of Death it self. *London*, the Old Forge of *Rebellion*, had also its Pseudo-Martyrs, a Printer being hanged for publishing Seditious Pasquils, and others Pillory'd for the same Crimes, Preludes to the designed Attempts of these bold *Enthusiasticks*. And yet they continue their Endeavours, by false Rumors to separate the King from his Friends, and by the same Arts, more strictly to unite theirs amongst themselves. They would begin a New *Rebellion*, by the intercepting of *Carlisle*. In order to which, some of them met at *Kirby-Stevens*; but being fewer in Number than were expected, they again dispersed themselves; Three only being taken, who having been

1664.

been also engaged in the former Conspiracy, were executed as Traytors at *Appelby*. Their Names were *Waller*, *Weatherhead* and *Petty*, fit to be inserted in the *Martyrology* of these Perjur'd Saints.

In the following Years, these Domestick Evils broke out with new Violence, taking rise from our Distractions, occasioned by the War with the *Dutch*, and the *Plague* raging amongst us; to which it may be presumed, the Negligence of our Inferiour Magistrates did so much contribute. The *Sword*, the *Pestilence*, and *Fire* (which well-nigh consumed the City) as if they mockt at the publick Calamities, were made use of to enrage the very Madness of the People; exagitating their Conster-nations, with fictitious Stories and Prophecies; and not obscurely pointing at our Chief Magistrates and Governours, as the Authors and Causes of all these Calamities. This subtle and contagious Spirit of *Rebellion* creeping into the Minds of Men, did at length infect with its Poison the very *Parliament* it self, which will too evidently appear by the Sequel. In the mean time, Eight of the late *Usurper's* Veterans, were hanged at *Tyburn*, for contriving to murder the King and subvert the *Common-wealth*. One *Alexander*, furnished these Wretches with Money and Advice, for the carrying on of their Wickedness; but, they deferred the executing of their Designs, till the Third of *December* following; for, having erected a *Scheme*, they fancied that would be a Fortunate Day, a Planet averse to *Monarchy* being then predominant.

1666. The Scourges of War and Pestilence, were followed by a terrible *Conflagration* in *London*. Where, however Thirteen Thousand Houses were consumed with the Fire, the Sacrifice could not expiate their former *Rebellion*, and their not opposing

sing the Murther of their *Sovereign*; which, some of them had encouraged, all permitted.

The Tumults in *Scotland*, were carryed on with the same Licentiousness and Contempt of Authority. Sir *James Turner*, for his more severe Prosecution of the Laws against *Dissenters*, as was pretended, was barbarously used by them, to the endangering of his Life. For, being violently taken out of his Bed at *Dunfreefe*, he was by the wild Rabble, dragg'd naked into the *Market-Place*, hardly escaping their Fury by the Perswasion of some of the more moderate amongst them. Nor were they contemptible for Numbers, being by the Accession of the Multitude encreased to Sixteen Hundred, so that they durst march in a Body towards *Edenburgh*. But, being at *Glencarne*, and fought by the *Royallists*, they were broke and routed. Five Hundred of them were slain upon the place, and One Hundred taken; whereof, some of them being affixt to the Gallows for the Terror of others, the rest were pardoned by the King's Clemency.

But now the Factious have new Matter to work upon, the *Odium* of conspiring being thrown upon the *Papists*. All Things were quiet at Home. Our Wars being husht up by the *Treaty of Breda*. The Plague did devour our People no more, its Poison being extinct. And, the City lately of Wood, was now by the King's Munificence rebuilt of Brick and Stone: When one *Titus Oates*, who had had his Education and Orders in the *Reformed Church of England*, being afterwards reconciled to that of *Rome*, passed over first into *Flanders*, and thence into *Spain*: Where, under pretence of Religion and his Zeal for it, he gained so much Favour with the *Priests* and *Jesuits*, that he had Opportunities, as he pretended, to penetrate into their most secret Councils. This new Profelyte, changing Parties 1678.

Parties again, returned into *England*; where he informs the King, of a Design of the *Papists* against his Life, against the *Reformed Religion*, and the present Government. And, naming several Lords, as, *Bellasis, Powis, Peters, Arundel, Castelmair, Stafford*, and other Men of Quality, as prime Conspirators in this Treason, gained so much Credit with the *Parliament*, that the accused were all imprisoned, the *Papists* commanded to remove Ten Miles from the City, and all of them to be cashier'd out of all Employments both Military and Civil. The mysterious Death of *Godfrey*, inflamed the *Parliaments* Credulity to Vote, *That there was a Plot, execrable and Hellish*, as they termed it. In-
 somuch as the King, at their instant Desires, pass'd a *Bill* to disable all Popish Peers or other Members so affected, to sit in either *Houses* of *Parliament*. Offering further, to comply with any Expedient they should propose, for the Security of the *Protestant Religion*, so as they tended not to impeach the Right of Succession. *Coleman, Ireland, Pickering, Groves, Fenrick, Whitebread, Langhorn, Staley, Green, Berry and Hill*, condemned by the Testimony of *Oates* and others of his Associates, solemnly attested their Innocence at their Death. Nor did so great Effusion of Blood, suffice to remove the Jealousies they had of the *Papists*: so that the *Houses* of *Parliament*, to whom the King had granted all things for the security of *Religion*, not contented with these Concessions, proceeded so far, as to press the King to remove the *Duke* of *York* from his Presence and Councils. To this, they added the Imprisonment of his Secretary *Williamson*, without his Knowledge. Which did so far irritate his Majesty, that he dissolved this *Parliament*, after it had continued Seventeen Years.

Fana-

Fanaticism, which had lurk'd for some Time under a *Protestant* Mask, and infused its Contagion into the *Parliament*, began now under Pretence of Godliness to appear more openly. The King having dissolved the *Parliament*, as is said, had summon'd another, from which he hoped for more good than he had hitherto experimented. And, lest the Presence of his *Brother* might prove any Obstacle, he commanded him to retire until the Heat of the Faction did a little cool. Which he obeyed without Repugnancy, that he might in no wise occasion any the least Dissension betwixt the King his Brother and the *Parliament*. But the King's Indulgence, and the *Duke's* Observance, were equally valu'd. Nor could all his Concessions, with those Limitations, not meddle with the Succession or his Prerogatives, satisfy their Contumacy. Nay, he had dismissed his *Privy Council*, as being ill look'd upon by the *Parliament*, surrogating others in their rooms not so obnoxious to the Faction, making the *Earl of Shaftsbury* President. But, all this was to no purpose; for, the *Parliament* omitting those Things which they were to have treated of, and postponing the King's Demands of *Subsidies*, they again attacked the *Duke of York*, absent then in *Flanders*, the *Commons* voting his *Exclusion* from the *Succession*. But, the King seeing the contumacious Animosity of the Party, and not obscurely perceiving, that he himself was aimed at through the *Duke's* Sides, dissolving this present *Parliament*, commanded another to convene in *October* following. 1679.
July 10.
Octob. 17.

Whilst these things are in Agitation in *England*, the Tumults in *Scotland* flew higher. Dr. *Sharp*, the *Arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews*, was most inhumanly murdered in his Coach, by a Party of the barbarous *Covenanters*. Which done, the Rebellion they designed, was, by the Concourse of
Y those

those Multitudes that flockt together, suddainly formed into a considerable Army, consisting of Sixteen Hundred Horse, and above Four Thousand Foot. Nor were the *Royallists* less active, the King having sent the *Duke of Monmouth* thither as *General* ; who joying with the *Scots* Nobility, they raised such a Force, that fighting the *Rebels* at *Bothwell-Bridge*, chey defeated them. The Slaughter was not great ; for, the *Enemies* Horse not being prest or pursued, by the Connivance if not Command of *Monmouth* (for he himself had other Designs, as it afterwards appeared) retreated in a Body at least Twelve Miles from the Place they had fought in ; and, separating there, dispersed themselves, some of the Foot being slain. A few of the Prisoners were punished for their prosperous Treason.

After this, the King fell sick of a Fever at *Windsor*, which was so violent, that the *Physitians* despaired of his Recovery. Upon News whereof, the *Duke* hastened from *Brussels* to *Court*. But, it seemed otherwise good to the *Almighty* ; who was pleased to prolong his Life, until he could leave the Kingdom, agitated at present with so many Distractions, settled and composed to his Successor. Being restored to his Health, the Joy of it was celebrated by the Universality, at least the Good Part of the Nation ; the City also sending their Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, with a great Train with Thirty Coaches ; and a Troop of a Hundred Horse, for their Convoy to *Windsor*, to congratulate his Happy Recovery.

But *Monmouth*, however illegitimate, blinded with Ambition, and not content with those great Honours and Places he enjoyed, aspired to the *Crown* it self ; inviting and alluring with the Baits of Employments and Rewards, some of the most interested, to his Party. But, this caballing, was discovered.

discovered to the King by the *Earl of Oxford*; who, abhorring the Treason, preferr'd his Loyalty before all the Offers of Ambition and Greatness. The King being justly incens'd against the Ingratitude and Vanity of the Pretender, divested him of all those Dignities and Offices which he enjoyed, and banished him the Kingdom. Moreover, to prevent the Chymical Delusions which the Report of his being married, or contracted to the said *Duke's* Mother might occasion, his *Majesty* by repeated *Declarations* publickly emitted, as also by Writings under his own Hand, declared, *Upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Word of a King, that he never Married, nor gave any Contract to any Woman whatsoever but to Queen Katharine his Wife.* This the King did, with so much Solemnity, to prevent the Peoples being abused by these false and malicious Reports; and, lest the Factious might thereby mislead them, to disturb the Publick Peace, or violate the Rights of Succession: Whereby also, the vain Pretences of *Monmouth*, and the ridiculous Machinations of the Seditious, might be disappointed.

1679.
1680.

The *Parliament*, which the King had summoned to meet in *October*, being delayed by several Motogatives, did not come together before the *October* following. Nor were their Councils now less violent, punishing some of their own *Members* by expelling them the *House*, and persecuting several of the Judges, and others faithful to the King. Nor did this suffice. For, they not only voted, but pass'd a Bill which they called, *An Act to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and all the Territories thereunto belonging.* - But, it went no further; for, being carried up to the *Peers* by the *Lord Russel*, after a second reading it was thrown out of the *House*.

Y 2

After

Dec. 17.

After this, the Lord *Viscount Stafford* was brought to his Tryal, being prosecuted by the *Commons* upon the Testimonies of *Oates*, *Turberville* and *Dugdale*; and, condemned by the Suffrages of the *Peers*, was beheaded. Nor were the *Commoners* thus satisfied. They press the *Bill of Exclusion* a-new; and, demand Permission for the *Protestants*, to associate themselves for security of the *Protestant Religion*. They declare all other Remedies in sufficient and obnoxious to Dangers. And, that therefore they could give the King no Supply, *without Danger to his Person, Hazard to the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to those by whom they were trusted*. Nay, they required, *That the Lords Hallifax, Worcester, Clarendon, Rochester and Feverham, should be removed from all Offices of Honour and Profit, and from his Councils and Presence for ever*. And, with the same Breath, with unheard of as well Fury as Arrogance, Vote, *That whosoever shall lend, or cause to be lent by way of Advance, any Money upon the Branches of the King's Revenue, arising by Custom, Excise, or Hearth-Money, should be adjudged to hinder the sitting of Parliaments, and should be responsible for the same*. And, when they perceived, that the King wearied with such monstrous Insolence, designed to Prorogue their Session, they hastily vote and denounce, *That whosoever advised the King to prorogue that Parliament, to any other purpose, than in order to the passing the Bill of Exclusion, should be lookt upon as a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion and the Kingdom of England, a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner of France*.

Mar. 24.

But, the *Parliament* being however Prorogued, and then Dissolved by *Proclamation*; the King intimated his pleasure to call another, which should convene in *March* following at *Oxford*, as a place less

less Subject to Faction and Tumults. Which so stung the *Common Council* of *London*, and such *Peers* as were emancipated to the Party, that they endeavoured by Petitions to divert his Majesty from thoughts of so remote a Design, upon imaginary reason of Danger, and Unfitness; praying, it might therefore sit at *Westminster*. But, to no purpose. So that the *Parliament* met at *Oxford*, composed for the most part of the same *Delegates*: The major Part of the Deputies, as also the *Fanatick* Lords, depending upon their numerous Attendants and Friends which they were accompanied with, drove on furiously; and neglecting the King's Admonitions (who had declared, *That as he had resolved never to use Arbitrary Government himself, so he was resolved never to suffer it in others.*) rage with more Fierceness against the *Duke*, and press the Bill of Exclusion with so much Violence, that the King putting a stop to their career, immediately dissolved them. And, it was time, seeing they designed, not only to retrench his *Prerogative*, but also to seize his Person. Upon that Account, *Rouse, Hains, White, College* and the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, were committed to Prison. Of these, *College* and *Shaftsbury* were brought to their Tryals. But, in vain, being acquitted by their *Juries*, against the Testimonies and Evidences of irreproachable Witnesses. Which was no Wonder, the very *Courts* of *Justice* being enslaved to the Faction, and acted by their Prescripts. So that the King, who himself was religious in the equal Distribution of *Justice* to all Men, could not obtain *Justice* for himself. But *College* being brought before another Tribunal, less subjected to the Authority of the Faction, received such Punishment as his Treason deserved. He had no less offended at *Oxford*, than at *London*, and was try'd and executed there. The Fellow was of the Lees of the Rabble, a Joyner by

Trade; vain, restless, inquisitive, and perpetually busie in Affairs that least concerned him. But, *Shaftsbury's* Fortune was better, who eluding the Publick Justice, by a *Jury* addicted to himself and the Faction, and retorting the Danger upon his Accusers, triumphed, whilst they hardly escaped the Fury of the Rabble. And 'twas no wonder; for, this destructive *Faction* was so prevalent in the City, that it had insatuated the People and the Companies of Tradesmen, with a reverent Opinion of their Sanctity; And, spreading wider, the Contagion had diffused it self into most of the Provinces of the Kingdom. And now, all such whose Crimes had rendered them Guilty, or Indigence bold; such whose Zeal made furious, or Ambition lofty, joyned themselves to them. The same Pretences of Liberty, Property and Religion; and the same Methods wherewith the Reign of *Charles the Martyr* had been involved in Blood and Confusion, were now again made use of, mostly by the same Men; cunning, restless and implacable, to seduce weak and irresolute Persons, as also to disturb that Peace, which we hitherto enjoyed to the Envy of all *Europe*.

By such Instruments, the mildest of Governments was branded with the Name of Tyranny; The *Church of England* is traduced, and the faithfullest Ministers and Servants to the King and Crown, calumniated with Male Administration. In the mean Time, Schism and Sedition are every where promoted; Jealousies and vain Terrors are suggested; proditionous Discourses and infamous Libels are scattered about; and things abhorring from *Christianity*, are daily exercised, under the genuine Veil of *Protestantism*. Finally, the old Opinions and Doctrines of the *Democraticks*, so ruinous to *Monarchy*, are now again countenanced

tenanced, and asserted with the same Fierceness and Confidence, as they had been in the ~~late~~ Rebellion.

With these pickeerings of *Rebellion*, they gradually proceeded to Action. Parties are distinguished. Names and Signs of Separation are distributed. Unlawful Conventicles, in despite of the Laws are patronised. Tumultuous Banquets, and factious Clubs are every where set up. Clandestine and seditious Assemblies are frequented. Unusual Quantities of Arms, are bought up by private Men. Insolent Progresses are made through the Country, to the End they might shew how numerous they were, spread their Terror about as they moved, discover their Party, and demonstrate their readiness upon all Occasions.

Nor were these Caballings unknown to the King, who when he saw his Clemency so highly abused, by those whom he had pardoned yet greater Offences, resolved to chastise them, and oppose the severity of Law to their Extravagancies. In the Two preceding Years, Two Favourers of the Faction being *Lord Mayors* by Turn, had promoted turbulent Fellows to the *Magistracy*, and chief Employments in the City. Of these, the Two *Sheriffs* were chief, who directed the choice of *Jury's* at pleasure, which gave the licentious Liberty to offend: For, what durst they not attempt, who were certain of Impunity?

But, the King resolved at length to stem this growing Evil. Which he did, by restoring the Free Election of the *Sheriffs* according to the ancient Custom, and taking the Forfeiture of the City-Charter, adjudged so by Law, into his own Hands. These means, however proper for the procuring of Peace, and the establishing of the *Common-wealth*, had like to have destroyed both. For, when so many Criminals and Wicked-doers saw the *Magistrates*, especially the *Sheriffs* changed,
Y 4
and

and honest Men put into their Places ; and, considering that there was no Evasion from the Law, under pretence of it, they resolve upon a high Attempt, and worthy their Hellish Conspiracy ; which was, to subvert the King and Kingdom, and involve them in the same Ruin.

Shaftsbury being conscious of his Guilt, and not ignorant of the Injustice of the Sentence by which he escaped, terrified with the unexpected Change, and seeing himself obnoxious to that Justice which he had frustrated and eluded ; moved with the greater Precipitation, he terrifies his Associates with the Greatness of the Danger, encourages some to rise, others to Parricide, resolving to hazard all rather than tamely betray himself into the Hands of his Enemies. He therefore exhorts his Companions, *To vindicate their Liberty, Property, Religion, [the old Cant still] against Popery, Tyranny, Superstition, Idolatry, Oppression, Murder, and the other growing Evils of Servitude.* With these kind of Orations, they incense the furious. So that, what they could not effect by Fraud and pretended Sanctity, they resolve to compass by the way of Arms. To this End, they advise about raising of Forces. But *Shaftsbury* thinking they moved not swiftly enough in it, impatient of every Delay, and fearing (for every Noise alarm'd him) of being intercepted, as he had already withdrawn himself from his own Dwelling, exagitated with his own Guilt, he fled the Kingdom, and retreated into *Holland*. Where, this most turbulent of Men being neglected, found that Repose in Death, which the impetuous Desire of Ruling had deprived him of here.

The Conspirators however troubled at the loss of so eminent a Patron, and not ignorant that they were advanced beyond a Retreat, constitute a *Supream Council of Six*, to manage their Affairs.

Besides

Besides this, they had another more Inferiour Court, who consulted how to remove the *King* and the *Duke* by Assassination or otherwise, and to sollicit the Revolt of the Commonalty in Order to a War; which they resolve to carry on, against the *King* and the *Common-wealth*. The *Scots*, under the Conduct of *Arguile*, were invited to joyn, and act in this nefarious Rebellion: Who had also their Commissioners at *London*, who together with the *English* Conspirators, should move by consent. And, it was concerted amongst them, that they should break out into open Hostility in both Kingdoms at the same Time.

They resolve to secure *London*, the Head of their Design, by the same Methods it had been circumvented in the former Rebellion. They further, divide the City into Twenty Parts, which they distributed under the Conduct of so many Commanders. Some were to seize the *Tower*, and the principal Posts in the City; others *White-hall*, and particularly the Guards which were to be surprized and cut off. They had a Hundred of *Cromwell's* Officers at hand, ready to head the People upon their Insurrection, being abundantly provided with Money and Arms by voluntary Contributions from the Chiefs of their Party. The Country was no less addicted to them, especially those Parts which *Monmouth*, who was returned from his Banishment without Permission, had visited in his Progresses.

Whilst they thus prepare for War, the Design to Murder the King and Duke, kept pace with them. *Hone*, another Godly Joyner, proposed to have them shot from *Bow steeple* as they passed, with Cross-Bows. *Rumbald* the Maltster, would have the Play-House blown up with Gun-powder when they were present, declaring further, That he had laid a Design Ten Years ago to have slain them,

them, as they returned from *New-Market*, if they had not by accident taken another way, whereby they escaped the Danger. Some designed to attempt them as they walked in *St. James's-Park*, which they frequently did with no great Train. Some fancied it easie to sink them in the River, when they took the Air by Water in their Barge, by shocking them with a greater Vessel. There were again others, who would have them pistol'd in the *Play-House*, whilst intent upon the *Comedy*, or kill'd as they came thence along *Bedford-wall*. Other places betwixt *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*, about *Winchester* and *Red-Lyon Fields*, if they should come there, were judg'd proper enough for this black Parricide. But these all, as subject to too much Hazard and Danger, were laid aside upon mature Deliberation, of the more convenient Situation of the *Rye*, a House belonging to the afore-said *Rumbald* seated, in the Way to *New-Market*, Eighteen Miles from *London*, in the County of *Hartford*. This Place being Moated about, and the Passage near it narrow and strongly fenced and wall'd, was judg'd the most proper of any for the Purpose; *Rumbald* himself, the Designer of this Wickedness, offering in Person to undertake it with Forty more Associates, and at once to destroy both the *Royal Brothers*. Which he had probably effected, if God, the Protector of Kings, had not wrought a Miracle in their Favour.

The Conspirators full of Hopes and Assurance, seem'd in nowise to question the Success of their so well laid Enterprize, when the *Divine Providence* disappointed in a moment all their Contrivances and Plots, by a Fire undoubtedly sent from Heaven, which burnt a great part of *New-Market*. The Conflagration was so terrible, that the Flames of it approaching the King's Pallace, forced him thence, to another part of the Town
further

further off. Where, by reason of the Commodiousness of his Lodgings, he proposed to pass some days more in Hunting, and the other usual Diversions of the Place. But, he had no sooner resolved it, but the Wind, conducted by some *Invisible Agent*, suddenly changing, fills his new Lodgings in a moment with Smoke and Cynders. Which obliged the King, seeing no other convenience for his Reception, to declare, That he would immediately return to *White hall*; which he also did, before he was expected, or that the Conspirators Preparations were in a Readiness.

The Noise of so unexpected an Accident, was diversly received by the *Parricides*. Some believed, *That so unusual Burnings, could not happen without the Direction of Providence.* *Walcot* profess'd, that he thence conjectured, *That God did not approve of their Design.* Whilst *Ferguson*, without any the least Horror of so hellish an Undertaking, did dare to affirm, *That he plainly saw, that God had reserved the King for his own Judgment.* And yet one of these Conspirators, *Keeling* by Name, a Schismatic, greatly addicted to the Faction, and number'd amongst the Forty Murderers, perceiving the Averseness of Heaven, and agitated with the Terrors and Storms of a Guilty Conscience, after many Combats in his Soul, resolved at length to disburthen himself, by discovering this Tartareous Secret to the King. At first, the Monstrousness of so horrid a Design, discountenanced the Credit of the Relator, until verified by demonstrative Arguments, which gave Opportunity to the Conspirators to withdraw themselves. Yet, some of them were taken, as *Howard*, *Essex*, *Russel*, *Rumsey*, *Sidney*, *Walcot*, *Hone*, *Rowse*, and the Lord *G.* but, he escaped out of the hands of the Messenger. The Lord *Russel* and Collonel *Sidney* were

were both beheaded. *Walcot, Romse* and *H* were executed at *Tyburn*; and, others in other places suffered the punishments due to such execrable Treasons. The Earl of *Essex*, the unfortunate Son of a good Father, by his own hands prevented the Kings Clemency, who could not shew the utmost of his Severity, against a Son of my Lord *C* *peks*.

Of those who fled, some obtained the Kings Pardon by their ingenious Confessions, as *Barbary, Blaney, Bourn, How, Howard, Rumsey*, &c. Not is it unworthy of Notice, that scarce any of those who were executed, did dye, without confessing enough to demonstrate their Crime, though not their Repentance.

Amongst the Fugitives, the most considerable were *Armstrong, Ayloff, Barton*, the Two *Goodenoughs* Brothers, *Gray, Holloway, Norton, Nizbet, Row*, the Two *Rombalds* Brothers, *Smyth, Wade, Tyley* and *Ferguson*, the Shame of his Coat and Calling, a Canting Teacher, and more cruelly wicked than all those he had endeavoured to mislead. *Sir Thomas Armstrong* and *Holloway*, being intercepted, the First at *Leyden* in *Holland*, the other at *Mervis*, one of our *Western* Plantations, and brought into *England*, were both executed according to the Merit of their Crimes.

The Parricide designed thus in *England*, against His Majesty and the Duke, being discovered and prevented, the Conspiracy in *Scotland* fell also, as depending on it. *James Stuart, Monroe, Melvin, Cockran, Bayley, Castares, Spence, Alex. Gordon, Nezbet*, &c. were the Chief of the Party, acting in all Things by Agreement with *Argile*. This perverse Son of a wicked Father, had Demanded 30000*l.* of the *English* to buy Arms, engaging himself to make a powerful Diversion in his own Country. Which he also effected, as we shall see

See hereafter, having procured Supplies by other means.

The Duke of *Monmouth* youthfully rash, inconstant, ambitious, and hurried on with the Pretence of vindicating *Liberty* and *Religion*, agitated now with the Guilt of his Crimes, had also withdrawn himself. But, being proscribed, and finding but little safety in a Retreat, thought it his best course to implore that Clemency which he had so cruelly offended. Which he did by his Letters, seemingly full of Ingenuity, wherein he acknowledges his Crimes of Unfaithfulness against the King, and of Ingratitude to the *Duke*; bewailing what he had done, and humbly supplicating Pardon for what was past. With Imprecations of Vengeance upon himself, if he offended any more, or violated the Promises he then made of his future Fidelity. The King, the mildest of Princes, moved with his Submissions, answered him under his own Hand in these Terms, *That if the Duke of Monmouth would render himself capable of his Mercy, it was necessary he should surrender himself into the Hands of Secretary Jenkins, and should tell His Majesty all that he knew, submitting himself as to the rest entirely to his Pleasure.* This peremptory Declaration of the King's Will, extorted other Letters from *Monmouth*, wherein, he pathetically aggravates his Sorrow and Tortures of Mind for his failings against his Majesty; Confessing, that being fatally circumvented by the Enchantments of others, he was drawn into their Design, and precipitated into those Evils, the Consequences whereof he had not suspected. He declares, that his Crimes appeared to him with so terrible an Aspect, that he would rather dye than be tormented with their stings; he therefore implores the King's Grace and Pardon, which he did not desire, but by the Mediation of his Royal Highness. He further professes, *That he*
saith

saith this seriously and sincerely, not only submitting himself for this Time to the King's Pleasure, but for his whole Life. Concluding, That he should be the unhappiest of Men, until he were raised with a grateful and mild Answer.

1683.

Nov. 25.

The King after this, not questioning the sincerity of *Monmouth's* Conversion, admitted him to his presence. Where throwing himself at his Majesty's Feet, he plainly and fully acknowledged himself conscious of all the *Conspiracy*, except the *Parricide*; discovering many things to the King, which they had hitherto been ignorant of. *Monmouth* being, by the Intervention of the *Duke*, restored to his Majesty's Favour as formerly, obtained also the Favour not to be produced as a Witness against any Body (which Grace had been formerly refused to the *Duke of Orleans* in *France*) and that undoubtedly was the reason, that his old Associates and Friends impudently gave out, that he had discovered nothing of the *Conspiracy*, but contrarily, had vindicated the Innocency of those that had so injuriously suffered. The King moved with so great Arrogance, and perceiving that *Monmouth* did continue his Society with those who seduced his unwary Youth, after some Admonitions, he commanded him to publish in Writing, what he had declared to himself and to the *Duke* his Brother. Nor did he refuse it, writing to the King in these Terms. *That he was informed, that it had been reported of him, as if he had designed to extenuate the late Conspiracy, and traduce the Testimonies against them that suffered. His Majesty and the Duke knew, how ingenuously he confessed all Things, and that he was not conscious of the least Evil against his Majesty's Life. It grieved him however, that he had so greatly countenanced the said Conspiracy. He would publish this for his Vindication, beseeching his Majesty not to look back, but*

but that he would please to forget those Injuries which he had forgiven. It should be his Care for the future, to sin no more, or suffer himself to be misled from his Duty. Yea, he would spend his whole Life, to deserve that Pardon, which he had granted to his most Dutiful
Donmouth.

But, these Flourishes were no less fickle, than short-liv'd. For, the unhappy Youth, being bewitcht by the Artifices of wicked Men, and his own Ambition, broke that Faith which he had so solemnly promised to preserve inviolable. For, being foolishly perswaded, That the Declaration he had so lately made, was a Diminution to his Honour, and might rise up in Judgment against him hereafter, he redemanded it from his Majesty: Who, tender of his Good, endeavoured to divert him from so preposterous an Attempt; but, being more obstinately pressed, he in great Anger restored it him, banishing him at the same time from his Court and Presence.

The King did not long survive this: for, being intercepted by a violent *Apoplectic* Fit, he changed his *Terrestrial Crowns*, for one of *Glory*; being so universally lamented by the Good, and leaving so great a Desire of him behind him, that our Loss was in a Manner inconsolable. He was succeeded by *James Duke of York*, who was immediately proclaimed King. But he was scarce settled in his *Throne*, when the *Hydra* of Rebellion, lift up her Head again out of the *Lake of Schism* and *Faction*.

B O O K II.

The Rebellion breaks out in Scotland under Argile, in England under Monmouth. Both are vanquished, taken and executed. The Final Ruin and End of the Rebellion.

Archibald Campbel, Earl of Argile, and Son to the late *Marquess* of that Name (who had been beheaded for his Treasons and Rebellion) treading in his Fathers steps, out-went him in adding Ingratitude to his Infidelity. For, being restored in Blood, by the King's Clemency; as also, to the Dignities and Honours of his Family, except the Title of *Marquess*, he forfeited all again, by his Caballing, and Endeavours to disturb the Publick Peace. Which being discovered, and he forced to Banishment by his own Fears, he now joyning with *Monmouth* (both Heads of Factions, the one in *Scotland*, the other in *England*, both exiled for conspiring the Destruction of the Government, and both upon that Account looked upon as the Idols of their Parties) he now again, together with the other, contracting their Fury into a last Push, being at that time both in *Holland*, resolve with United Councils and the whole Force of their Factions, to attempt the Disturbance, if not the Ruin of the yet unsettled, as they fancied, Government of the King. To this End, they make great Provision of Arms and Ammunition, being assisted and furnished very nobly, as they said, by several good *Protestants* (most *Dutch* I suppose) And having hired several Ships for their Transport, they with their Friends and some few
Soul-

Souldiers, sailed, *Argile* towards *Scotland*, and *Monmouth* towards *England*.

The Scot was first ready, and setting Sail from May 21]
the *Ulye* in Three Ships, notwithstanding an Arrest which the *States* had sent for the searching of them, he touched at *Orkney*; where, having sent his Secretary and Chyrurgeon on shore, to try the Temper of the Inhabitants (who seized upon hem) he Sailed thence for the *West* of *Scotland*, and landed at *Dunstaffnage* in *Lorne* (a ruinous Castle, sometime belonging to himself) and put a Garrison therein. His first Care was, to put forth a *Manifesto* in his own Name; and, some of his Party had emitted a very large *Declaration* of Six Sheets of Paper, to invite their Country-men, and all other well affected Protestants, to joyn with them; with the old Cant, *To engage with them for the maintenance of Religion in its Purity, and the due Administration of the Laws of their Native Country, in Opposition to Arbitrary Government, Tyranny, Popery and Prelacy, against a Persecuting Tyrant, and an Apostate Party*; for, so they call the King, and his Loyal Subjects. Their Colors were Blew, and their *Motto*, *Pro Deo & Patria*.

But these Rebellious *Declarations*, and pretended Protestants, found other Entertainment in *England*, being not only marked by the Infamy of Treason, but a *Vote* passed in the *House of Commons*, *That they will stand by and assist his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, against the pretended Earl of Argile, and his Adherents, and all Rebels and Traitors and all other whatsoever, that shall assist him or any of them, &c.* Nor was the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, less vigorous in their Voting and Acting against the *Rebels*; who however increased by the Accession of *Malignants* and *Schismatics*, could not amount to the Number of a just Army. Nor did they effect any thing, proportionable to the

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Noise

Noise they made; for, being unequal to the Royallists, they were forced to sculk from one *Island* to another to avoid them. Which they easily did by help of their Shipping and Boats, until the Arrival of some Vessels of War sent by his Majesty, as the *Falcon*, and *Mermaid*, and some other Frigats, which shortly after happened. *Argile* having Intelligence of the approach of his Majesty's Ships, quitted the *Island* of *Boat*, and went over to *Cowal*, one of the Divisions of *Argile-shire*, bringing his Vessels and Boats into *Loch-fine* towards *Inverary*; where they were also blockt up by the King's Ships, lying in the Mouth of the said *Loch*. In the mean time, *Argile* having brought his Ships under the Castle of *Ellengregg*, gave out, he would fight the *Marquess* of *Athol*, who lay about *Inverary*, though his Design was to avoid it; his Men not finding the People to come in in such Numbers as were promised, daily deserting him. Nor could his Ships, detained by contrary Winds, get into *Loch-fine*, but were so discouraged upon the Advancement of the *King's-Fisher* and *Faulcon* to the entrance of *Lochbroom* where they lay, that they began to fortifie the said Castle of *Ellengregg*, and a Rock that lies near to it in a little *Island*, for securing their Ships. This being done, *Argile* having put his Cannon, Arms and Ammunition into the Castle, leaving One Hundred and Fifty Men for the Defence of it and his Ships, marched away towards the Head of *Loch fine*; and, returning thence, after an untoward Reception by the *Marquess* of *Athol's* Men, passed *Loch-long*, marching towards *Lenox* in *Dunbartonshire*. The same Day, his Majesty's Ships came up to the Castle with a Resolution to batter it, and to destroy their Ships; but, upon the firing of the first Gun, Two Men came off in a Boat with a White Flag, and told them, They might save their Labour, for there

there were none to oppose them, all the Rebels being fled. Whereupon, they sent a Boat on Shore, and finding it to be so, took Possession of the Castle, Ships and Boats, with Five Thousand Arms, Five Hundred Barrels of Powder, with Ball and other Stores in Proportion; besides the Cannon, some whereof were mounted, and others sunk; but recoverable. The *Rebels* had a Design to blow up the Powder, but it was prevented. Whilst this was a doing, the *Argilians* marched by the Head of *Gaviloch*, towards the Fords of the River *Levin*, betwixt *Loch-Lomand* and the Town of *Dunbarton*.

The *Earl of Dunbarton*, General of his Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, was then with the Army at *Glasgow*, where having notice that the *Rebels* had passed the River *Levin* above *Dunbarton*, he Jun. 17th marched very early in the Morning after them, they taking their Way towards *Sterling*, and overtook them in the Parish of *Killerne*. The Horse and Dragoons, kept up the Rebels till the Foot arrived: But, they were posted in so strong a Ground, that it being late in the Evening it was not thought fit then to attack them. So the King's Army stood in Battle-Array all night, as well to prevent Surprisals, as to be ready so soon as Day-light appeared, to fall upon them. But, the *Rebels* with great silence marched off in the Night, undiscerned by the *Royallists*, towards the River *Clyde*, which they swam with their Horses, wafting their Foot in Boats, and so got without any considerable Opposition into *Reufrem*. The King's Army missing the *Rebels* in the Morning, marched with all Diligence to *Glasgow*, and thence *Dunbarton* with his Horse and Dragoons hastened after them, leaving the Foot to follow with what speed they could make. At *Reufrem*, Sir *John Cockram* undertook to provide Guides to carry his Friends safe into

Galloway, but they mistaking the way, carried them into a Bog, where having lost their Horses and Baggage, the Foot dispersed into small Parties; whereupon *Dunbarton*, likewise divided the King's Forces to pursue them. *Argile* seeing all lost, returned towards *Clyde*, and was fallen upon by two of *Gree-nock's* Servants, but would not yield, firing at them when they called to him. He received a Wound in the Head; upon which, not trusting his Horse, he alighted and ran into the Water. The Noise brought out a Country-man, who ran into the Water after him, where he was almost up to the Neck. He presented his Pistol to the Country-man, but it missed Fire; whereupon, the Country-man gave him a Wound in the Head, which stunn'd him, so that he fell, and in falling cry'd out, *Unfortunate Argile*. Before he recovered, they took him and carried him to their Commander, from whence he was brought to *Glasgow*, and thence to *Edinburgh*; entering the City with his Hands bound behind him, bare-headed, with the Hang-man going before him. A sad, tho deserved Spectacle of unfortunate Disloyalty.

June 30.

The Rest of the *Rebels* being totally defeated, *Rumbald* the Master, who fought desperately, was taken, and Colonel *Ayllof*, who after he was a Prisoner, ript up his own Belly with a Pen-knife, but recovered to be hanged in *England*, as the other had been in *Scotland*, his Wounds not permitting his Transport into his own Country. *Argile* closed the Scene of this Rebellion, being beheaded; which could not yet expiate for so much Blood and Confusion, which he had occasioned by his Ambition and desire of Revenge. Nor was *Mormouth* more successful in *England*, whose Enterprizes being carried on with more Noise, and Hopes, may require a more particular Relation.

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The Duke of *Mommouth* having hired a Ship at *Amsterdam* of Two and Thirty Guns, with a Hundred and Fifty Men in it of several Nations, and paid for it in Person; was by the *States General*, at the Solicitation of the King's *Envoy* with them, ordered to be arrested, which notwithstanding got to Sea, and in it the Duke of *Mommouth*; and, not long after, Two small Vessels more, upon Account of the Rebels. With this Fleet, he sailed *Westward*, and landed at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire* June 11. 1685. about Seven a Clock in the Evening. He was accompanied with the Lord G. a Person daring and desperate, and about Two Hundred more well appointed, all appearing as Officers, and each with a Carabine and Two Pistols by his side. With this Equipage, did this bold Rebel dare to attempt the *Crown of England*. Having possessed himself of the Town, he likewise took Possession of an Old neglected Fort, in which were Seven Guns. And setting up his *Standard*, which was Blew, he invited all Men to his Assistance for the *Protestant Religion*, against the *Duke of York*. Nor were there wanting such, who, abused by his Pretences, came in to him; his Emissaries being dispatched into the Neighbouring Towns and Villages, to incite the People to an open Rebellion against his Majesty. Their Numbers being in few Days encreased, they sent a Party of Horse and Foot to *Bridg-Port*; where they surprized some Gentlemen, whom they inhumanly murdered, as Mr. *Strangeways*, *Coaker* and others. But, the rest getting to their Arms, escaped to a Party, who maintained a Post not far off; whither the *Rebels* still pursuing them, were beaten off with the Loss of Seven of their Men, and several Arms and Prisoners, which they left behind them.

The King, upon Notice of this Invasion, caused *Monmouth*, and all his Accomplices, and Companions to be proclaimed Traytors, and a Reward of Five Thousand Pounds to any who should bring the said *Monmouth* in alive or dead. *Monmouth* on the other side, dispersed a *Declaration*, fraught with Treason and Imposture against the King, under the Title of *Duke of York*. Which, upon consideration of the infamous Calumnies it contained, was condemned by the *Two Houses of Parliament*, to be publickly burnt by the Hands of the Hang man; which was done accordingly.

The *Duke of Albemarle*, the Day of *Monmouth's* landing, had mustered the *Militia* of *Devonshire*, whereof he was *Lord-Lieutenant*; and, keeping them in a Body, he much impeded the Resort of *Novellists* and *Fanaticks* to the Enemy. And yet it was not safe for him to fight them, being scarce secure of his own Men. For, the changing Rabble, attentive upon Novelties, seemed to prefer great Incertainties, before their present Enjoyments. The *Duke of Beaufort*, on the other side, secured *Bristol* with his Presence and Forces, whilst the King's Troops hasten to meet from all Parts. The *Lord Churchill* with his Dragoons came first, and disturbed the Rebels with various Skirmishings, and was followed by the *Earl of Feversham* with greater Force, who also was appointed *General* for the Expedition. The *Duke of Grafton* marched to the Rendezvouz with Eighteen Hundred of the Guards, whereof he was Colonel. And, Eighteen Field-Pieces, with all their Accoutrements, were sent to the Camp under the Convoy of some old Companies of *Dunbarton's* Regiment. To these, new Levies were suddainly made, of Eight Regiments of Foot, and several Troops of Horse. Also the Six Regiments of *Britains*, which were in the

the Service of the *United Provinces*, were recalled; Three whereof being *Scots*, were sent against *Argile*, but he being defeated, they returned into *England*.

On the other side, *Mommouth* having left *Lime*, marched to *Taunton*, an old and obstinate Receptacle of *Fanaticism*; where his numbers encreasing, tho no one of Quality came in to him, he usurpt the Title of *King*. But, the Reign of this *Ephemeros* Prince, was neither propitious nor long. What he could not effect, under pretence of the *Protestant Religion* (for, *those who are truly Protestants, of the Church of England, do detest nothing more than Rebellion*) he resolved to attempt by assuming the Title of *Prince*; but, no less impiously than foolishly. For, the Chief of his Party hated *Monarchy*, since they could not all be *Kings*; and, seemed mainly to contend for a *Common-wealth*. What *Argile*, oppressed by his adverse Fortune, did pathetically express in this Case, deserves to be mentioned here. His Expressions against those of *Amsterdam* first were, *That they having made a Collection among Four Hundred of them to set him out, had failed in carrying on the Undertaking*. But, against *Mommouth*, *As one who had broke Faith both with God, and Man: With Man, when taking him by the Hand at parting, he promised to be in England as soon as he in Scotland; and, with God, in that he had upon the Sacrament declared at Amsterdam, that he would never pretend to the Crown*. Nor, must we omit a Saying of *Rumbold's* at his Execution, being moved when he heard that *Mommouth* had taken upon him to be *King* (for, it seems, they were all for a *Commonwealth*) *We have, said he, a better than he, that is called so already.*

Monmouth left *Taunton* again, accompanied with a Multitude of sorry Fellows, scarce half armed; for, they had left most of their Equipage of War at *Lime*, where the King's Ships seized upon a Pink and a Dogger, with Forty Barrels of Powder, with Back, Head and Breast-pieces for near Five Thousand Men; and, *Lime* it self was secured, by a Garrison sent thither from the *Duke* of *Albemarle*, of Three Companies. The *Rebels* changing their Quarters often, and in perpetual Motion, seemed desirous to pass into *Gloucestershire*; but, were repelled at *Canisham-Bridge* between *Bristol* and *Bath*, with the Loss of Two Troops of their Horse. They hereupon returned back by *Bath* where the King's Forces were, and marched towards *Philips-Norton*, being followed in their Rear by the *Royallists*. For that purpose, a Detachment of Five Hundred Foot, with some Dragoons and Horse-Granadiers, commanded by the *Duke* of *Grafton*, whilst the Rest of the Forces followed with the Cannon, were sent in Pursuit of them. Being advanced near the Town, he fell into an Ambush, the Lane being lined on both sides with Foot and Horse behind the Hedges, who made very great Fire upon our Men. *Grafton* went as far as the Gate of the Town, with as much Courage and Resolution, as can be expressed; but, the Enemy continuing their fire, he retired; and, passing thro the *Rebels* Horse, with no less Bravery than good Fortune, got safely off. Eight of his Men were killed in the Adventure, and about Thirty wounded. The Rest of the Army being come up, the *Earl* of *Feversham* drew it up in good Order, upon a little Hill within Distance, answering the *Rebels* Cannon with the Noise of his own, tho with no great Effect on either side. He had designed to have fought the Enemy there, but was impeded by the Excessive Rains which fell

at

at that time. So that towards the Evening the *Royallists* marched to *Bradford*, and the Enemy to *Frome*. But, the *Rebels* doubling, and changing Quarters often to avoid their Pursuers, came to *Wells*, where they prophaned the Cathedral with unusual Barbarity; plundered, ravished and robbed the Citizens, upon pretence of wanting Pay. From hence they marched to *Bridge-water*; and, the *Earl of Feversham*, from *Somerton* to *Weston*, where he encamped, Three Miles distant from the *Rebels*. The Horse and Dragoons lay in the Town, and the Foot in the Field, covered towards the Campaign with a Parapet and Trench, formerly made by the Country-men against Inundations; and, their Rear was secured, by the said Village behind them. Towards Evening it was told my Lord *Feversham*, that the *Rebels* were stirring, in Order to march. Whereupon, he sent frequent Scouts out to learn News of them. But, *Monmouth* eluding the said Scouts, enters unobserved, and with great Silence, into the Plain before the *Royallists* Trench. Where drawing up his Army, which consisted of Six Thousand Foot, and having entrusted the Lord G. with the Horse, which amounted to Twelve Hundred, he marched in Battle-Array against the Adversary. The alarm being taken, the *Royallists* consisting only of the Guards and part of *Dunbarton's* Regiment, were quickly ready to receive them. The Fight began with great shouts, and brisk firing. The aforesaid Dike being in the Nature of a Parapet, was of great use to the *Royallists*, which occasioned the Enemies shot, as being aimed higher, to fly for the most part over their Heads; whilst they, as being more exposed in the open Field, were more directly armed at and wounded. The L. G. hastening with his Horse to the Assistance of the Foot, losing his way in the Night, fell unexpectedly

pectedly upon a Party of the *Royallists*: Which he endeavoured to avoid, by wheeling from them. But turned upon his own Men, who thinking he ran away, did effectually do so, themselves; and, filling all with Fear and Confusion, the whole Horse were broke and routed, and that without a Blow; every one shifting for himself, and searching his Safety in his Flight instead of fighting. The Foot stood bravely to it, until attacked by our Horse, at length come up, in Flank and Rear; as also, our great Guns beginning to play upon them, they seeing themselves abandoned by their *Cavalry*, were also broke, routed and slaughtered. The slain on the *Rebels* side, amounted to near Two Thousand, besides many taken. Collonel *Holmes*, Major *Perrot*, *Crookhorn* and other unknown Names, were made Prisoners. There were also taken, Three Field-Pieces, and Six and Twenty Colors. Of the King's side Three Hundred were slain, and many wounded. And, undoubtedly the loss would have been greater, but for the fore-mentioned Breast-work, the *Rebels* so far out-numbering them.

Immediately after this Victory, *Fewersham* marched with Five Hundred Men to *Bridgewater*, the *Rebels* next Station. Which he possessed himself of without Resistance, they dispersing and flying upon his Advance. And, here he left Collonel *Kirk*, to compose the Disorders of the Town.

Monmouth and *Gray* seeing all lost, escaped out of the Battle; and changing their Vestments, sought where best to conceal themselves. But, the Lord G. was taken in the disguise of a Shepherd, one other only being in company with him; and, being brought to the L. *Lumley*, he was discovered at first sight, being also known by a Servant of the said Lord's, who had formerly been his Groom. So that, putting off his Disguise, he professed, *That since his landing in England, he had never had one good Night*.

Nights Rest, or eat one Meal in quiet. Nor is it a wonder, being perpetually agitated with the perturbations and cares which accompany unfortunate Ambition.

Two Days after, *Monmouth* himself fell into the Hands of his Pursuers. The Immenseness of the Rewards, raised the Country in the search, so that, the Ways and Woods were filled with their Numbers. Some went out by break of Day, and taking a Dog with them, as Men usually do in Hunting Beasts of Prey, the Dog made the first Discovery of one hid in a Ditch, who proving to be a Foreigner (which appeared by his broken Language) and threateningly required to tell where *Monmouth* was, pointed at his Covert; whither they immediately went, and there seized this unhappiest of Men, in great Distraction, pale, trembling and full of Disorder. He was brought thence to the Lord *Lumley's*; and, from *Ringwood* sent a Letter to the King, *Protesting the Remorse in him, for the Wrong he had done His Majesty in several things, and now in taking up Arms against him. He complained of his Misfortune, in meeting some Horrid People, that led him away to believe, That it was a shame and a sin before God, not to do it. But, he would not trouble his Majesty at present, with many things he could say for himself, that he was sure would move his Compassion. The chief end of this Letter, being only to beg, That he might have the Happiness, to speak to his Majesty, having that to say to him, that he hoped might give him a long and Happy Reign. He concluded, That he really thought himself the most in the Wrong that ever any Man was, and had from the Bottom of his Heart, an Abhorrence for those that put him upon it, and for the Action it self. Hoping, that God Almighty would strike his Majesty's Heart with Mercy and Compassion for him, as he had done his with the Abhorrence*

horrence of what he had done. Finally, he hoped to live, to shew how Zealous he should ever be for his Majesty's Service. And, could he say but one word in this Letter, he would be convinced of it; but it was of that Consequence, that he durst not do it, and therefore he beg'd once more, that he might speak with him. For, then he would be convinced, he should ever be his Majesty's most humble and dutiful, Monmouth.

Being brought to the Tower, he did not long survive his Misfortunes. For, being Attainted of High-Treason by An Act of Parliament, he was beheaded, on a Scaffold for that purpose, erected on Tower-Hill.

He had delivered this following Paper, before he mounted the last Stage of his Life, referring himself to it in all the Discourses he held upon the Scaffold. Which I thought fit to subjoyn.

I Declare, that the Title of King was forced upon me; and, that it was very much contrary to my Opinion when I was Proclaimed. For the Satisfaction of the World, I do declare, that the late King told me, he was never Married to my Mother. Having said this, I hope that the King who is now, will not let my Children suffer on this Account. And, to this I put my Hand, this 15th day of July, 1685.

Monmouth.

His Actions, sufficiently declare his Character. And, his Body, being inhumed by Order in the Chappel of the Tower, put an End to his Chimerical Principality, and this REBELLION.

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